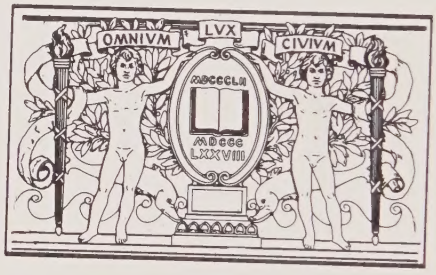


BOSTON
PUBLIC
LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/unset0000unse_a3e3

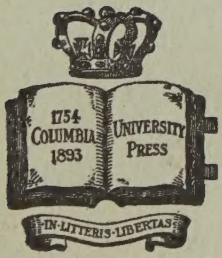
KARL LEBRECHT IMMERMANN

A Study in German Romanticism

BY

ALLEN WILSON PORTERFIELD, Ph.D.

Sometime Carl Schurz Fellow in German, Columbia University



New York

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1911

All rights reserved

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY GERMANIC STUDIES

Zur Erinnerung an die Romantik
d. V.
Den 1. April — 1916.

KARL LEBRECHT IMMERMANN

SALES AGENTS

NEW YORK :

LEMCKE & BUECHNER

30–32 West 27th St.

LONDON :

HENRY FROWDE

Amen Corner, E. C.

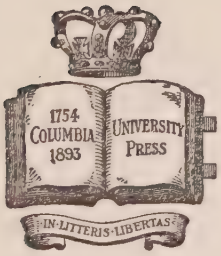
KARL LEBRECHT IMMERMANN

A Study in German Romanticism

BY

ALLEN WILSON PORTERFIELD, Ph.D.

Sometime Carl Schurz Fellow in German, Columbia University



New York

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

1911

All rights reserved

PT2365
.I5Z8
GL

Copyright, 1911
By The Columbia University Press
Printed from type February, 1911

Press of
The New Era Printing Company
Lancaster, Pa.

TO THE MEMORY OF MY MOTHER

NOTE

Considering the extent and variety of his literary production and the peculiar interest of the 'epigonic' period in which his best work was done, Immermann has been too little studied. I do not mean that he is a neglected genius, for he was not a man of genius. But the many-sidedness of his talent, his sensitiveness to every breeze that blew, his eager experimentation, make him especially interesting as a mirror of the Romantic epoch. Mr. Porterfield has undertaken to study him in his total relation to the Romanticists and to all that they were driving at. I regard the work as a substantial contribution to our knowledge of Immermann and his contemporaries.

CALVIN THOMAS.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
December, 1910.

PREFACE

In its most remote origin, this study grew out of a desire to familiarize myself with an important and suggestive epoch in German literature while solving a somewhat broad yet definite problem taken from this epoch. Immermann's lifelong though irregular and varying interest in German Romanticism appealed to me as abundantly satisfying this requirement.

To Professor Calvin Thomas I owe indeed much by way of general suggestion, substantial assistance and personal encouragement.

To Professor Robert Herndon Fife, of Wesleyan University, I owe a deep debt by way of advice as to the most feasible method of approach to Romanticism from the standpoint of an individual poet.

To my predecessors, I owe most to the works of Haym and Huch on Romanticism, and to those of Putlitz and Maync on Immermann.

To Professors W. H. Carpenter, Hervey, Krapp, Lawrence, Remy and Tombo of Columbia, and to Professor F. W. Truscott of West Virginia University, I owe that peculiarly unpayable debt that disciple always owes to master.

To my colleague, Mrs. Juliana Haskell, Ph.D., who so carefully read the proof, I owe not a little.

A. W. P.

New York City,
November, 1910.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER I

Immermann's General Relation to Romanticism:
1. Literary Connections 6
2. Personal Traits 27

CHAPTER II

Romantic Sources:
1. Middle High German 34
2. Romance 60
3. Folksong 64
4. Miscellaneous 68

CHAPTER III

Romantic Contents:
1. Poetry 74
2. Philosophy 80
3. Religion 89
4. Mysticism 91
5. Miscellaneous 100

CHAPTER IV

Romantic Structure:
1. Poetic Form 103
2. Prose Form 105
3. Style 112

CHAPTER V

Immermann's Opposition to the Romantic Current:
1. Rationalism 120
2. Realism 128
3. Antiromanticism 133

Conclusion 137

Bibliography 142

Chronologically classified List of Immermann's Writings:
1. Predominantly Romantic 152
2. Predominantly Unromantic 152
3. Miscellaneous 153

INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century, an extremely resourceful theme for students of German literature has been "Romanticism." That so many treatises, pretentious and unpretentious, have been written on this subject argues, however, in no sense, that it is so deep as to be unfathomable, so broad as to be only vague. It is not discussion, but silence that condemns a work. Many commentaries have been written on "Faust," because it is suggestive. Romanticism deals with the suggestive rather than the determined phases of life. It has been treated, extensively, from the genetic, biographic, philosophic, popular and appreciative standpoints. It has been treated, intensively, from, one would think, every standpoint. But these briefer studies concern themselves almost entirely with narrow, individual phases, ofttimes idiosyncrasies of romanticism and consequently lack breadth and balance. And the larger studies, because so wholly philosophic, become abstruse and at times decidedly vague. The average reader will understand the text of "Lucinde" more easily than Haym's comment on it. Works like those of Dilthey, Joachimi and Kircher are of more value to the philosophic student than to the appreciative reader; yet the latter is part of a larger company. Thus far, no attempt has been made to give a broad, analytic, concrete picture of German romanticism; to note and classify those themes and devices that occur with significant frequency in romantic creations. There is a long series of works from Heine's "Romantische Schule" (1833) to Wernaer's "German Romanticism" (1910). But no one of these was written with the sole purpose of giving a well-rounded picture of romantic sources, themes and forms.

Immermann's poetic activity extends over the period from 1820 to 1840. He was well read in the literature of his day, and, possessing a more receptive than productive mind, was

much given to imitation. That he was influenced by romanticism, no one denies. The nature and extent of this influence, no one has determined. He leaned most heavily on Cervantes, Calderon, Goethe and Tieck. During his lifetime he enjoyed but little favorable criticism. From his death to the centenary of his birth (1896) literature on his works was fairly exiguous. Since 1896 there has been a mild Immermann revival. Opinions as to the eternal value of his poetry vary from the harsh sentence of Goedeke, who sees practically no good thing in him, to Geibel, who thinks that in "Merlin" he wrote a second "Faust" and that "Epigonen" and "Münchhausen" deserve a double cheer. But no one of these criticisms concerns itself, except in a most casual and general way, with Immermann as a romanticist.

The purpose of this study has been, then, twofold: (1) to determine Immermann's exact relation to romanticism; (2) to give a broad, concrete picture of romanticism, so far as this can be done with only Immermann as a background.

It has been neither my purpose nor my duty to set up an epigrammatic definition of romanticism. I have tried, on the other hand, so to arrange the study that every sentence should constitute a part of a definition and delimitation of the term. It is, however, no more impossible of succinct definition than are such terms as "religion," "education," "success," "democracy," or "pantheism." Goethe declared (Eckermann, April 2, 1829) romanticism to be diseased, Schiller (Bellermann, Vol. VIII, 335–341) said it was sentimental, Jean Paul (Vorschule der Aesthetik, Vol. XVII, 74–94) said it was modern, Tieck (Kritische Schriften, Vol. II, 237) said it was synonymous with poetic, Friedrich Schlegel (Minor, Vol. II, 220) said it was progressive, universal poetry, Heine (Elster, Vol. V, 217) described it as being a revivification of the Middle Ages and Wernaer (German Romanticism, 24) calls it soul-culture. What it means to a given student depends largely on what writer or writers he reads most carefully. If he reads, for example, those two romanticists who were most similar, Novalis and Wackenroder, even here he will come to a different conclusion. In the one it is the art of religion, in the other the

religion of art. And if he could read all of the romanticists, he would very likely say with Fr. Schlegel that it is progressive, universal poetry.

That romanticism is incapable of a concise definition is due to the fact that it can not be delimited as to time, and as a movement it passed through various stages of development. It would be very simple if we could set up "Wilhelm Meister" as the *Magna Charta* of romanticism and date everything from 1796. But this would be like saying that the great French Revolution dated rigidly from 1789, and that there were no revolutionary signs previous to that year. Whereas, just as the writings of such men as Turgot and Adam Smith indirectly led up to the Revolution, so were there signs of an approaching romantic era long before the romantic doctrine had been formulated or the romantic school established. Indeed from the days of Otfried on there has always been a romantic strain in German literature. The writings of Jacob Böhme (1575–1624) contained two fundamental romantic tenets—nature-philosophy and mysticism. It was simply during the generation from 1795 to 1830 that romanticism was predominant. And it is just barely accurate to speak of a romantic "school" even during this period. The situation more nearly resembled a great romantic institute, with one school here and another there and still another somewhere else, the leading spirits of which had, at times, hardly a speaking acquaintance one with another. They all taught, however, a similar doctrine.

An illuminating picture of romanticism is contained in the history of its symbol, its palladium, the blue flower in Germany (Deutsche Sagen, hrsg. von den Brüdern Grimm, erster Bd., 201–202) and the golden drinking horns in Norway (Ges. d. dän. Lit. von Jörgensen, 82–84). Though totally different as to their outward nature, they are very similar as symbols. In either case it is a question of the loss of something of extreme beauty and worth. Idealists long to regain this neglected and vanished treasure. Their search for a season is ardent, but is abandoned, as the searchers grow old, on the ground that the quest is vain, or that the find will be disappointing. Roman-

ticism was born of a pessimism as to the present and an optimism as to the future that begot a deep longing for something infinitely better than then existed. This longing nourished subjectivism and paid homage to mysticism. Being subjective, it in time recoiled on itself and became satiric, or it rose above itself and became ironic. Dissatisfaction, longing, subjectivism, mysticism, satire and irony—these are the main stages in the genesis, rise, prosperity, decline and attenuation of German romanticism.

Two things inseparably connect Immermann with the older group of the romantic movement: (1) his lifelong friendship with Ludwig Tieck, to whom his debt was very great, and of whom his estimation was overgreat. Tieck gave, for example, no proof that "he would have become the father of the German comedy and that this comedy would have been the greatest of modern times had the stage been kindly disposed to him at his best season" (IV, 9); (2) his fatal weakness as a lyric writer, wherein lay the strength of the younger members of the group.

A study of German romanticism can be undertaken from three different viewpoints: first, including only the purely creative works of the poets of the Berlin, Jena, Heidelberg, Halle and Dresden groups; second, including everything that the poets of these groups wrote, creative and critical; third, including not only the poets of these groups, but also the scientists, economists, theologians and artists that gathered around them. The first is a trifle too narrow. It is difficult here to separate the critical from the creative. Some of the romantic criticism was at the same time creative. Tieck's "Dichterleben" belongs partly to both classes. The third is too broad to mean anything. Romanticism, according to this conception, would deal with the whole of life in all its phases; with the comprehended and determined as well as the apprehended and suggestive. The second viewpoint is the one taken in this study. I have investigated Immermann's creative and critical works, not with reference to their relative value, but with the idea of analyzing and classifying their sources, themes and forms. The concrete picture of German romanticism here

attempted is supposed to be entirely complete in outline, and complete in details to the point of easy recognition. As a picture it lacks the final touches, because it is based on a poet who never created these.

I have gone into Immermann's sources with the constant purpose of comparing the leading romantic themes in source and poem. I have tried to show wherein he is romantic, the different forms his romanticism assumes, and wherein he is not romantic. My authentic documents have been, first of all, Immermann's own creative and critical works. And their authenticity has been proved by comparison, recorded and unrecorded, with the writings of those whom all the world calls romanticists. I have never hesitated to demonstrate in his case what has already been proved in the case of others. My purpose throughout has been twofold; and this has reenforced me in the belief that the undertaking was doubly worth while.

CHAPTER I

Immermann's General Relation to Romanticism: (1) Literary Connections; (2) Personal Traits

Bei dem Werden eines Dichters wirken die reellsten und die geistigsten Momente zusammen: die biographischen Zufälligkeiten der Geburt, Zeit, Ort, Abstammung und Familiengeist, das Vaterland und die Schule, persönliche Begegnungen, Studien, vielleicht dies oder jenes einzelne Buch. Alle diese Einwirkungen aber nehmen ihren Weg durch die Seele und reflektieren sich je nach der Natur dieser Seele.—Rudolf Haym.

Immermann (1796–1840) was born one year before Heine, in the same year as Platen, later than any of the other universally acknowledged romanticists, and was survived by Brentano, Eichendorff, Fouqué, Görres, Hölderlin, Houwald, Kerner, Rückert, Schelling, A. W. Schlegel, Tieck and Uhland. He fought with his generation and not against it. Writing (1839) of the influence of romanticism, he says: "The romantic school was of the greatest influence on coteries and poetic minds. No really ambitious writer could escape its charm, for it fixed a necessary point in the development of German literature."[1] And in reply to Heinrich Laube as to whether he was justified in writing memoirs, Immermann writes: "What a mass of poetic detail the 'War of Liberation' offers me! What delight it gives me to portray the period of revelling and dreaming that I enjoyed with the romanticists after the war was over!"[2] In a letter to Gräfin Lützow, he writes: "The fundamental idea of the school, to which I also belong, is that one must approach a work of art not simply with reason but with the harmony of all one's powers, fancy and feeling included."[3] And yet, one year later (1825), in his dissertation

[1] Cf. XVIII, 166–167. All textual references are to the Hempel edition of Immermann's works.

[2] Cf. XVIII, 5. Written in the spring of 1839.

[3] Cf. *Gräfin Elisa von Ahlefeldt, eine Biographie* von Ludmilla Assing. The letter is dated March 14, 1824, and contains introductory comments on the critical work of the Schlegels. Comparing their method of criticism with

"Ueber den rasenden Ajax des Sophokles" he ascribes the present confused and uncertain condition of the German stage as much to the whimsicalness of the romanticists as to the regularness of the classicists, declaring that the former have caused the pendulum to swing too far to the other side. He censures the subjective arbitrariness of the romanticists and looks upon it as a strong factor in the estrangement of the tragic muse. He writes:[4] "Placed between Sophocles and the demands of the present, the poet loses himself, he loses sight of a fixed goal and he loses the ground under his feet."

As to his affinity for the doctrines of the romanticists, his biographer writes:[5] "It is entirely possible that romanticism had a more grievous effect on Immermann than on any other of its followers. His serious, heavy nature could not adapt itself to the light and fanciful creations of the school. His mind lacked the lively play of fancy that bore others golden fruit. What in Tieck, Eichendorff and others appeared as graceful wantonness seemed in Immermann's writings to be clumsy, baroque and often ugly. Not until he completely freed himself from romantic influence did he produce works in harmony with his nature." This latter statement is inaccurate. Immermann suffered during the first ten years of his career from the vagaries of romanticism; during the last ten years he profited by its virtues. He never became completely free from the influence of romanticism. What he did was to learn

that of Lessing and his day, Immermann writes: "The struggle between the two parties is not yet over, but victory seems to be coming to the better side." He means the romanticists.

Let it be said in this connection that prose is always translated unless there be some inherent reason for not doing so. Poetry and titles of works are left untranslated. If this latter seems unjustifiable in the case of works by other than German authors, it must not be forgotten that Immermann concerned himself, for example, neither with *El Principe Constante* nor with *the Firm-hearted Prince* but with *Der standhafte Prinz.*

[4] Cf. XVII, 404.

[5] Cf. *Karl Immermann. Sein Leben und seine Werke aus Tagebüchern und Briefen an seine Familie zusammengestellt.* Herausgegeben von Gustav zu Putlitz. Berlin, 1870 (I, 134). This work was really written by Immermann's widow, Marianne Niemeyer, and edited by Putlitz. It will be quoted throughout as "P." It is written with more feeling than science, and is valuable chiefly because of the numerous letters and quotations from the poet's diary that are included.

to control it. It was the critical side of the school to which he claimed (1824) to belong. Yet the romanticism in his creative works bulks larger than in his critical ones. And some of his best criticism, of romantic works, and in the romantic spirit, was done after 1830.

Two other statements by Putlitz are significant in that they concern unpublished writings of Immermann's student days. Of his literary productivity while attending the Convent of our Dear Lady at Magdeburg (1807–1813), Putlitz writes:[6] "There are a number of finished themes still extant, all of which evince a poetic nature. They treat the most variegated topics and betray very decidedly the influence of romanticism." Concerning his university days at Halle (1813–1817), Putlitz writes:[7] "There are but few traces of original composition during his stay at Halle. One not unimportant fairy tale of the year 1817 is to be found. In it are mingled quaint echoes of E. T. A. Hoffmann and graceful reminiscences of Tieck's 'Phantasus.'"

Immermann himself describes[8] the joy he experienced on leaving rationalistic Magdeburg and going to romantic Halle as follows: "Every evening a pilgrimage was made to Giebichenstein and Crellwitz. There Tieck's star rose before us and filled us with unspeakable joy. Then the wonderful fairy world did really rise in its ancient splendor. How often did we rush home in the moonlit magic night that holds the senses captive, exulting over the Huntsman, the students Lion and Tiger, Puss, Red Ridinghood and King Gottlieb." But this joy was to be shortlived. He had gone to Halle at Easter (1813) and in August of the same year the university was closed by order of Napoleon. Then came a time of independent study. Of this period he writes:[9] "The loneliness in which I was obliged to live for about two months, in a strange place, while still so young, brought about a situation resembling a Callot picture in which witches, devils and bogies disport themselves. I read Fouqué's 'Zauberring,' Arnim's 'Gräfin Dolores' and 'Ahasver,' Brentano's 'Ponce de Leon'

[6] Cf. P. I, 16. [7] Cf. P. I, 37. [8] Cf. XVIII, 114.
[9] Cf. XVIII, 117–118. Written 1839, under the caption: *Pädagogische Anekdoten.*

and other works of this hyperromantic tendency. I began to fear ghosts in daylight. The swarming, spooky figures kept springing through my room. I do not know to what end it would have led if the call to arms had not put a sudden stop to this sort of thing."

The disfavor with which Immermann here views ultra-romanticism is somewhat similar to his general impression of French romanticism, whose development and character he carefully studied, and for whose leader, Victor Hugo, he had but scant sympathy. Writing[10] (December 15, 1829) to Michael Beer, then in Paris, he says: "The French seem to be trying to create a new poetic school *en grand galop*. It is an interesting phenomenon, but I fear that not nearly so much will come of the whole spectacle as they plan. This French romanticism is not the product of a deep, dark, heartfelt impulse, but owes its origin rather to the fact that they have become tired of the old hacknied forms; also from a certain ambition to be free and versatile, like the Germans and English." Beer wrote (January 29, 1830) that the two camps, classic and romantic, were eagerly awaiting Hugo's "Hernani," and that a literary battle would be fought on its appearance. Immermann wrote (April 2, 1830) to Beer: "'Hernani' is just such a work as I have long expected from the French who have bound themselves to romanticism as one binds one's self to the Devil. I have long had a feeling that we would sometime have a chance to take vengeance on the French for the contempt with which they treated our foaming, gushing literature of former days. The time has come. They are beginning to write a whole series of works that for extravagance and madness surpass anything the Germans ever wrote. And the first of this cycle is 'Hernani,' the product of absolute inner coldness which tries to be warm and sprightly." Hugo's "Cromwell" fared no better. Immermann wrote (October 28, 1830): "What a monster this 'Cromwell' is! It is simply a travestied repetition of the *siècle de Louis XIV*. Then they botched their

[10] Cf., for the entire correspondence, *Michael Beers Briefwechsel*, hrsg. von Eduard v. Schenk. Immermann was also acquainted with the works of de Vigny (Beer, p. 83), Lamartine (XVIII, 214), George Sand (XVIII, 98) and Rousseau (XVIII, 155).

Greek models, now they bungle their romantic ones." Immermann thought also of writing a treatise on French romanticism. He wrote (October 28, 1830) to Beer: "One could write a very interesting essay on the French romantic school. Commencing with Voltaire, who first began to disturb the old system, one could go on through Diderot, and from Madame de Staël and the other intermediaries come on down to the moderns. But one would not increase the number of his friends among the French by such a treatise."

Immermann traveled frequently and wisely, devoting his time with about equal love to nature, art and literature. A reproduction of connected extracts from his Bamberg correspondence will show how romantic associations attracted him late in life:[11]

"Bamberg is full of collectors of rarities and oddities that concern art. In this respect, it resembles Cologne. I visited one of the most prominent of these, Joseph Heller, who has written an interesting monograph on Albrecht Dürer. I found his room full of books, manuscripts, escutcheons, copper-plate engravings and free-hand sketches. I was especially interested in the drawings that Dürer made on his journey to the Netherlands. I was introduced to C. F. Kunz, who, under the name of Z. Funck has edited the 'Memoirs' of E. T. A. Hoffmann and Wetzel. Incidentally, Kunz is very fond of my works. From the summit of the Altenburg I saw the little tower in which Hoffmann lived while musical director here (1810–1811). He painted the walls with frescos from the history of Altenburg, portraying himself as squire, hurdy-gurdy-man and so on, just as his fancy dictated.

"Bamberg has an intellectual past that appeals strongly to

[11] Cf. XX, 25–39. The letters were written (1837) two years earlier than the preceding Halle reminiscences, portray, however, his attitude twenty-four years later. The content is given literally, the irrevelant parts being omitted. The same sort of picture could be drawn from the *Wunsiedel*, letters referring to Jean Paul. The letters are important in that they reveal a pronounced romantic tendency to study old manuscripts, art collections, cathedrals, etc. At this time, however, Immermann had lost interest in Jean Paul. (Cf. XVIII, 51: "What an impression these scenes once made upon me! How I worried and suffered with Siebenkäs! And now?—What are Jean Paul's works to me now?").

the wanderer. Here Hegel lived after the battle of Jena and completed his 'Phänomenologie des Geistes.' Here Count Soden, and later Holbein conducted the theatre. Here Calderons 'Andacht zum Kreuz' was performed for the first time and received with tremendous applause. It was soon followed by 'Die Brücke von Mantabile' and 'Der standhafte Prinz.' Hoffmann painted the decorations after he had failed as musical director because he tried to conduct the opera 'Aline' with the piano and the people did not understand him. His 'Phantasiestücke' and 'Der Hund Berganza' were written here. This was the home of Wetzel; and it was here that the genial physician Marcus, a bosom friend of Steffens conducted his amateur theatre, where such works as Fouqué's 'Eginhard und Emma' were performed. This was the scene of the life and love of Kaiser Heinrich and Kunigunde.

"I was also taken to the room occupied by Kunz. It was filled to the ceiling with rare collections. I thought at once of Jean Paul and 'Quintus Fixlein.' Kunz showed me the little room in which Hoffmann lived. Frau Kauer's dog used to lie before the entrance to this queer building. Hoffmann would talk for hours with this dog from his window, asserting that he understood the dog perfectly, and that the dog understood him better than some of his human contemporaries. This dog is the model of Berganza. It was here that Hoffmann became entangled in the love affair that caused his estrangement in Bamberg circles something after the fashion of the lieutenant in Tieck's 'Vogelscheuche.' I saw here also some pretty colored things by Hoffmann, among others, theatre masks from 'Figaros Hochzeit,' and one where Kreisler goes about in his sleeping gown, smoking his pipe and composing his opera."

Before entering upon a discussion of Immermann's personal relation to the individual romanticists, it will be appropriate to examine his sketch[12] of the romantic school in Germany. The monograph is of more interest than value. It shows that he

[12] Cf. XVIII, 146–168. The essay appears under the caption *Lehre und Literatur*. Though written near the end of his career (1839), it must be borne in mind that, at that time, Heine's *Romantische Schule* was the only pretentious work on romanticism.

was well read without being, from the standpoint of modern investigation, "well informed." This is the gist of his discussion:

The genesis of German literature differs essentially from that of the other five main European literatures. These sprang from romantic soil and attained to greatest perfection in a fundamentally romantic age. In Italy, for example, Dante, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Ariosto and Tasso poetized the medieval world or its immediate reflection. They developed romantic themes until a classic ideal was reached. But in course of time, the romantic elements disappeared and later generations were forced to resuscitate the old or invent something new. It was impossible to do either successfully, and consequently Camoens, Cervantes, Corneille, Dante and Shakespeare have remained peerless.

German literature, on the other hand, sprang from an unromantic soil and attained to greatest perfection in an essentially unromantic age. There is, to be sure a German literature of the Middle Ages and later: Nibelungen, Tristan, Parcival and Minnesong; then the Mastersingers, Hans Sachs, the Satirists of the Reformation, and finally the Silesian school and Fleming. These are all worthy of respectful consideration, but there is a touch of barbarism in every one of them. They belonged to an age when it was impossible for classical writers to flourish. The Germany of those times lacked, namely, a national individuality, a serviceable language and that broad, general culture that prepares, so to speak, the themes for the poet, so that he, like a great general, can stand off and conduct the contest from a distance. But the authors of Nibelungen, Leo Armenius and Narrenschiff stood face to face with crude ideas, and their creations were crude.

It was reserved for the eighteenth century to produce classics. This became the time of great individualities. The poets subjectively proceeded from personal rather than national standpoints. The language had been developed until it only needed the kiss of a master to become mother. This it received from Lessing, Herder, Goethe and Schiller. And now, while other nations are groping about for genuine creations

from modern life, Germany has hers in the symbols of the modern age.

But this expression of individual views brought with it its difficulties. Content was emphasized to the neglect of an inner, spiritual form such as we find in Shakespeare, Cervantes and Dante. Goethe and Schiller set about to supply the deficiency. They experimented with various forms. Schiller introduced the chorus in "Die Braut von Messina," Goethe wrote "Hermann und Dorothea" and "Die Wahlverwandtschaften," an epic and a novel more dramatic than any of his dramas. But they did not succeed in reconciling form and content.

Another, and more practical attempt to win an appropriate form for German literature was made by the Romantic School. The romanticists approached the matter empirically. They referred to the poets and the romantic literatures that really had a form. With the romanticists it was not simply a question of knighthood, devotion and the past, but they concerned themselves also with the poets who had to do with this sort of things. And they talked more intelligently about these poets than had ever been done before. They drank from the fountain of the past and did not shun, even in unessentials, the imitation of foreign models.

The productive spirits of the school were Fr. Schlegel, Novalis and Tieck. Schlegel leaned heavily on Calderon. Novalis became absorbed in medieval mysticism, consolidated in "Heinrich von Ofterdingen." Tieck created for himself a world of unending necromancy. But Tieck the magician became later Tieck the realist. It looked for a while as if the school would return to the point from which it started. But the disciples brought the school more distinction and notoriety than its founders. And one of the most influential as well as the most affected of these was Fouqué. His works at first produced an effect equal to that of "Werther" and "Die Räuber." But he could not control himself and his Pegasus galloped off with him to the desert. Uhland partly took his place.

This explanation of the genesis of romanticism reveals Im-

mermann's broad reading, his inability to appreciate the first classical period, his misinterpretation of Goethe's and Schiller's "experimenting" with various forms, his overestimation of Fr. Schlegel, his unique characterization of the eighteenth century as distinctively subjective, and his perpetual interest in romanticism as a movement. But his naïve enthusiasm as well as his distorted views can, in turn, be explained. His knowledge of Middle High German was deficient, it was fashionable to attack "Die Braut von Messina," by the eighteenth century he meant from 1770 on, and it was Fr. Schlegel's leaning on Calderon that interested him in this unproductive spirit.

Immermann has also been treated as a romanticist, by a romanticist. The study is by Eichendorff, and is of interest since it is the only[13] treatment of Immermann from the purely romantic viewpoint. In one of his chapters Eichendorff treats[14] Immermann, Rückert and Chamisso as the three most important writers that represent the extreme end of romantic vogue. He declares that these men were poetically homeless. Immermann is described as being *in* romanticism but not *of* it: his nature was sturdy and realistic, his dramas go back to Shakespeare, his novels to Goethe, and his anti-Platen[15] monograph was not a personal defense, but sprang from Immermann's ethical disgust at the bombastic affectation that romanticism had been showing since the days of Fouqué. He declares that Immermann's treatment of Catholicism in "Das Trauerspiel in Tirol" is indifferent and consequently unromantic, that his dramas in general show too much critical reason and too little imaginative fancy,[16] and that Immermann,

[13] Platen did, to be sure, introduce Immermann as the "Romanticist" in his *Romantischer Oedipus,* but this criticism is of little value so far as Immermann is concerned. It was "Nimmermann" that Platen was criticising. He calls Immermann (cf. *Nachschrift an den Romantiker*) "Ein Ueberbleibsel der Zeit, die hoffentlich nun vorbei, Jahrzehntelangen Gequieks romantischer, letzter Schrei." At Heine's request, Immermann wrote (1827) some *xenia* for the second volume of the *Reisebilder,* attacking Oriental verse forms then employed by Platen. In reply Platen wrote (1829) his *Romantischer Oedipus,* where Immermann appears as 'Nimmermann, der Romantiker.'

[14] Cf. *Geschichte der poetischen Literatur Deutschlands,* Vol. 2, pp. 218–226.

[15] Cf. *Der im Irrgarten der Metrik umhertaumelnde Cavalier* (1829).

[16] Cf. *Geschichte des Dramas,* Vol. 4, pp. 167–168.

by trying so many different themes, was attempting to get away from romanticism, and call a new movement into being. He is also accused of literary pessimism, believing that real literature died with Goethe. As a matter of fact, however, it was this very belief that Immermann refuted (1833) in a conversation with Chamisso.[17] Eichendorff's criticisms are too general to be valuable, or even reliable, in the case of a writer whose chief characteristics were his changeableness and receptivity.

Immermann's unfailing interest in romanticism as demonstrated by his personal relations to the individual romanticists can only be indicated. He laid great stress on the value of a friend,[18] and yet he was at times nearly friendless. His contemporaries seem to have found him interesting but eccentric.[19] It is therefore not without significance that his one unwavering friend should have been Ludwig Tieck, that particular member of the romantic generation who possessed the greatest genius for friendship.[20] He inspired Immermann at Halle in 1813 and was considered the most capable of completing "Tristan" in 1840. The grand total of Tieck's influence during the intervening years bulks large.

Tieck's Dresden residence (1819–1841) just covers the years of Immermann's poetic activity. He visited Dresden in August, 1820,[21] September, 1832,[22] October, 1833[23] and November, 1839.[24] Whether he met Tieck on the first visit can not be determined. It would seem safe to say that he did. Writing, however, eleven years later (July 18, 1831) he begged Tieck's pardon for taking liberties with a man "whose intimate acquaintance he does not enjoy."[25] On the second visit, Tieck

[17] Cf. P. II, 53.

[18] Cf. *Epigonen,* Book II, Chap. 9. The theory has been advanced that all friendship is based on selfishness. Hermann (Immermann) replies: "With such a doctrine you would strip spring of its foliage, brutalize humanity and heathenize Heaven."

[19] Cf. Dorothea Tieck, *Erinnerungen an Fr. v. Uechtritz,* p. 161: "Immermann is intellectual and interesting, but there is something uncanny about his nature; I could never confide in him."

[20] Cf. Huch, I, 137. [21] Cf. P. I, 64. [22] Cf. P. I, 306.

[23] Cf. P. II, 43–46. [24] Cf. P. II, 302–306.

[25] Cf. Holtei, *Briefe an Ludwig Tieck,* II, 52: "This remark, 'whose intimate acquaintance I do not enjoy' is inexplicable, for we know that Immermann was cordially entertained by Tieck twelve or eleven years earlier."

explained to him the arrangement of the theatre in Shakespeare's day, and conducted some of his public readings in Immermann's presence. The disciple took up the suggestion at once and carried it out through the rest of his career. It was by reading masterpieces that Immermann first interested the people of Düsseldorf in a classical theatre. On the third visit, Tieck was ill. Immermann took his place in the public readings, reading Tieck's "Tod des Camoens" and his own "Hofer." He was received with great applause. On one occasion Tieck read "Love's Labor Lost" in the Baudissin translation, and on another Holberg's "Der politische Kannegiesser." The fourth visit was made with his bride and was largely social. The readings were resumed. The most important incident of this last visit was the discussion of "Tristan und Isolde." Immermann had finished (June 23, 1840)[26] the eleven cantos of part one; he had planned to finish the nine cantos of part two by the end of the year. The whole poem was thoroughly discussed by Tieck and himself,[27] each one contending for his own views as to the interpretation to be given to the poem. Immermann had affirmed that Tieck had a better knowledge of the Middle Ages than any one then living,[28] but he could not accede to Tieck's views as to the proper ending of this great love epic. Tieck looked upon "Tristan" as a glorification of love regardless of morality or justice. Immermann could admit no such treatment. He felt that the decision of the ordeal would have to break the strength of the magic potion and that the acquitted Isolde would have to find the strength of a pure will and the courage of renunciation. Tieck declared that such a treatment would rob the material of its inner and central meaning. This explains why he declined the invitation of Immermann's widow to complete the fragment. The personalities of the two men are clearly revealed by these opposite views.

Immermann's letters[29] to Tieck are not letters in the ordinary sense, but rather literary essays and critiques. There is, to be

[26] Cf. Karl Immermann: *Blätter der Erinnerung an ihn,* von Ferd. Freiligath, p. 149.

[27] Cf. P. II, 303–306. [28] Cf. P. II, 44.

[29] Cf. Holtei: *Briefe an Ludwig Tieck,* Vol. II, pp. 47–106.

sure, every evidence that the friendship between the two was most genuine. But only the scientific content concerns this study. The letters cover the period from July 18, 1831, to July 15, 1840; from the completion of Tieck's "Jahrmarkt" to that of "Waldeinsamkeit." As a foreword to the correspondence, the one written on Tieck's sixty-sixth birthday (April 20, 1839)[30] will best serve. It is a general recognition of indebtedness; condensed, the letter would read something like the following: "I gladly and openly admit that I am your disciple. All that is in me of a sense of nature, irony, wit and humor, a deep desire to understand the cryptic things of the universe, a longing to appreciate literature and to understand poets—all this has been largely moulded by your teaching, guidance and example. If the time had been ripe, you could have become the father of the German comedy. When I recall the profound, intrepid and sublimated humor in 'Octavian,' 'Kater,' 'Zerbino,' 'Däumchen,' 'Blaubart,' 'Fortunat' and 'Verkehrte Welt,' I can think of only one like you in all poetry, and that is Aristophanes. The statement that your dramas are clever but insuperably difficult to perform is untrue. I staged your 'Blaubart' with less difficulty than I met in preparing Birch-Pfeiffer's 'Glöckner von Notre-Dame.' Your life has been an unfailing source of inspiration to me."

From this it is clear that Tieck's general influence on Immermann was incalculable in quantity and romantic in quality. Some details from the remaining letters[31] will corroborate the strongest claims.

Immermann sent "Alexis" to Tieck more, he says, out of deference to Tieck's exalted position in German literature than from a desire to see the work performed. Immermann was unromantically honest and sincere, but his inordinate desire to see his works performed on the German stage makes it difficult to accept this statement without modification. He expresses the great joy he experienced on reading "Dichterleben." "In the two Shakespeare stories, the mysterious creative power of your miraculous fancy is most clearly revealed. I can only

[30] Cf. IV, 7–10.

[31] Cf. Holtei, *Briefe an Ludwig Tieck*, Vol. II, pp. 47–106. Detailed pagination of the references is unnecessary since it is easy to follow the letters.

describe the ineffaceable impression I received by saying that when things happen thus and so in these stories, however weird that may seem, we feel that this is the only way it could have happened." Immermann saw nothing impossible in "Däumchen" as a hero of present times. He possibly had his own "Tulifäntchen" in mind. He begged Tieck to finish "Tischlermeister" and his dissertation on the "Old-English stage." He preferred the former to "Sternbald," claiming that it had the same mild western-sun illumination and was at the same time much more original. Then follows one of Immermann's queer notions: He sees something decidedly ominous and uncanny in the fact that with each epidemic in Berlin, a philosopher loses his life; Fichte (1814) of typhoid, Hegel (1831) of cholera.

Tieck discusses Immermann's dramas, claiming that one of their faults lies in the extreme length of the last act, which should be, according to Shakespeare, the shortest—simply a summing up of the results. Immermann admits the justice of the criticism. He is collecting through an agent in Belgium some old Spanish romances and dramas which he knows will delight his dear master. Of the Scandinavian romanticist Oehlenschläger, he has just read "Fischerstochter," "Drillinge von Damaskus" and "Aladdin." He knows Tieck would be interested in them. "Hexen-Sabbath" impressed him in an unusual way. "One moves gradually from the light and winsome to the heavier and awe-inspiring." He explains in detail his "Merlin." He reads for the first time "Timon of Athens" in Tieck's translation and appreciates Shakespeare's central theme: Timon's visionary appreciation of the friendship of men. He expresses his utter lack of sympathy with French romanticism. He has just read Brentano's "Die mehreren Wehmüller" and finds the burlesque element very good, the serious element detestable. He meets Steffens in Berlin and finds him congenial but busy. He is going to produce "Blaubart" in Düsseldorf and feels sure of success. "But I shall follow the teaching of your 'Kater': I shall not let the public know that I am going to give them something extra, but let them find that out for themselves; the surprise will be de-

lightful." Tieck's "Tod des Dichters" has been gratefully received by all of Immermann's acquaintances. In "Vogelscheuche" Immermann sees an abundance of the most graceful jesting and delightful nature-philosophy. He fears however that some of Tieck's contemporaries may see personal gibes in the work and avenge themselves on its author. He performs "Macbeth" in Schiller's translation, omitting the witches' scene, which he takes from Tieck. Tieck vindicates his own rendering.

He explains his forthcoming novel ("Epigonen") to Tieck but is apprehensive as to its reception; he says the Rahels, Bettines, Stieglitzes, Jung-Deutsche, Atheists and warmed-over Holbachs are furnishing Germany with her literary pabulum now-a-days! He has just performed Calderon's "Richter von Zalamea," declaring the piece to be a sort of Spanish Iffland. The theatrical adventures in "Tischlermeister" are wonderful! Here is symbolized the history of the whole German theatre. And despite all this temptation to realism, the work is as fresh as "Phantasus."

Immermann had ridiculed A. W. Schlegel in "Epigonen,"[32] Tieck defends him, whereat Immermann vindicates his attack by saying that a work of such a broad nature must concern itself with idiosyncrasies of the epoch, that jokes have always been common in German literature, and that the Schlegels in their day spared no one, flaying Voss, Niebuhr and Schiller alike. Immermann is now reading Ben Johnson[33] and his school. When the time is more favorable, he hopes to produce Massinger's "Duke of Milan." He is extremely enthusiastic over the performance of Shakespeare on a stage such as was used in Shakespeare's time. He declares the effect of such a performance, where the stage is stripped of all scenic allotria, is remarkable, even when done by dilettanti. In the last paragraph of the last letter he asks Tieck to send him some references on the old Spanish theatre; he needs it so badly. He evidently wanted it for the "Düsseldorfer Anfänge."

This is the content of these heart effusions of Immermann to his "bosom friend and dear master," so far as they con-

[32] Cf. *Epigonen,* Book III, Chap. 6.

[33] Immermann's spelling.

cern romanticism. And with the romantic references eliminated, there is nothing left but conventional trivialities. The casual references to Tieck throughout his writings are numerous and appreciative. Only once does Immermann's feeling of self-importance seem to rise when he refers to Tieck[34] as His Poetic Holiness, Pope Tieck I.

Space forbids an itemized account of the other romanticists. A few leading references to Fouqué and Heine can not be omitted. Fouqué was the first[35] literary acquaintance Immermann made. The friendship, if such it can be called, was cordial but shortlived, extending over a period of not quite two years. Through Fouqué's intercession, the *Frauentaschenbuch* for 1820 contained some poems by Immermann, among others, "Das Requiem" and "Jung Osrik." Fouqué wrote a very severe criticism of these, which Immermann accepted in good faith, but to which he replied[36] in a long letter, vindicating his own poetic idea. The correspondence of 1818–1819 shows Fouqué in all his chivalric affability. He looks forward to the time when he can work more directly with his "noble young friend and colleague in the cause of letters." Then came the news of Immermann's "ungentlemanly" conduct at Halle concerning the Teutonia fraternity, and Fouqué at once severed all connection with Immermann, officially and socially.[37] It was just what was to be expected. The two men were radically different in temperament and talent. Eichendorff called[38] Fouqué the Don Quixote of romanticism. If the soubriquet be correct, it would be fairly appropriate to designate Immermann the Sancho Panza of romanticism. He afterward satirized Fouqué in "Edwin" and "Tulifäntchen."

Immermann's relation to Heine is a more fruitful theme. In the sumer of 1822 he wrote a review of Heine's first poems for the *Rheinisch-Westfälischer Anzeiger*. Karpeles says[39]

[34] Cf. XVII, 160. [35] Cf. P. I, 47.

[36] Cf. *Briefe an Fouqué,* hrsg. von Albertine Baronin de la Motte Fouqué, pp. 160–166.

[37] Cf. P. I, 48. Letter dated March 14, 1820. Immermann had reported to the Minister of the Interior at Berlin the case of a Halle student who had been hazed by members of the Teutonia fraternity. Immermann won his point, but with it an unpleasant disfavor among the students.

[38] Cf. *Geschichte der poetischen Literatur Deutschlands,* Vol. 2, p. 159.

[39] Cf. Gustav Karpeles, *Heinrich Heine,* p. 160.

that this review can be considered as the starting point of Heine's fame. It was the first favorable criticism that Heine enjoyed, and the result was a friendship which, despite the fact that it has been somewhat idealized by Heine-Immermann critics, has in it an underlying note of bias. Heine and Immermann were radically different in all essentials. Both were vainly ambitious, and both were pining for recognition.

The letters of Immermann to Heine were lost in the Hamburg fire (1833). There are extant fifteen letters of Heine to Immermann, two of Immermann to Heine. Those of Heine cover a period of ten years (December 24, 1822, to December 19, 1832). The one accessible letter[40] of Immermann is dated February 1, 1830. There is a danger of getting a wrong impression from letters by compiling superlative passages, but this is the most feasible way to present Heine's relation to Immermann:

"I shall never forget the day on which I read your tragedies ('Ronceval,' 'Edwin,' 'Petrarka') and, half mad with joy, told my friends about them. I place you next to Oehlenschläger among the living dramatists, for Goethe is dead. Don't expect them to be performed in Berlin—for that they are too good! I was deeply moved by what you said of my poems in the *Anzeiger*. You are the first to appreciate the real source of my dark woes. People have tried to compare me with you. But I am not worthy to be named beside you (!). And yet, let us be comrades-in-arms in the struggle against wrong, for poetry is after all only a pretty side-issue. I am going to speak a good word for you with Varnhagen von Ense. He is a man of strong character and unswerving loyalty. He can help us both. I like the frank way in which you discuss my humble poetic efforts (Poetereien). I have just read your work[41] on Goethe and Pustkuchen and can not admire it enough. I asked Junker Dunst[42] Fouqué what he thought of your tragedies. He did not wholly deny you talent. Won't you review my two tragedies for the *Anzeiger?* If you do, don't spare the author. The passage in your tragedy[43]

[40] Cf. Gustav Karpeles, *Heinrich Heine,* pp. 168–169.
[41] *Brief an einen Freund über die falschen Wanderjahre.*
[42] Cf. *Edwin.*
[43] *Das Thal von Ronceval,* Act IV, scene 3.

where Zoraide flees to Roland moves me to tears every time I read it. It seems to me as though I myself had tried to write it and could not finish it because of too great grief. There is a similar passage in my 'Almansor.' I hope soon to meet you and then grow old with you (June 10, 1823). My weakness lies in the monotony of my themes. You have this in common with Shakespeare, that your themes include the whole world; you seem, however, to be unable to concentrate.[44] I could not wish to write a better book than your 'Cardenio.' In this work our souls have found a rendezvous. I am going to dedicate the third part of my 'Reisebilder'[45] to you. I like your 'Friedrich' much better than your 'Hofer.' Your 'Tulifäntchen' is admirable, only some parts are too long drawn out and the metre needs much revision. I send you a number of suggested changes. Your 'Carneval und Somnambule' shows a masterly prose." The last letter (December 19, 1832) is from Paris, and in it Heine asks Immermann to write an article on the status of painting in Germany.

This is the essential content of Heine's letters[46] to Immermann so far as they concern the literary personality of the addressee. Otherwise they are full of Heine's hackneyed cries of woe brought on by sickness, the meanness of publishers, the hostility of critics and the stupidity of the public. It is difficult to read out of such a correspondence the foundation for such a friendship[47] as existed between Immermann and Tieck, or any of the other friends of Immermann, excepting possibly

[44] This and the references to *Tulifäntchen* are almost the only calm, judicial remarks in the entire correspondence.

[45] *Die Bäder von Lucca.*

[46] Cf. *Heines Briefe;* gesammelt und hrsg. von Hans Daffis, 2 vols., Berlin, 1906. For a full statement of the relation of Heine to Immermann, cf. Karpeles, *Heinrich Heine,* pp. 160–171. An interesting remark concerning the relation of Heine to Immermann is that by Tieck (*Holtei Briefe,* May 10, 1835): "I can not express to you my sense of displeasure, when I heard how Heine praises you. I have just been reading some of this vagrant's works."

[47] Aside from these, Immermann's four most intimate friends were M. Beer (1800–1833) the author of "Struensee," K. Schnaase (1798–1861) author of *Ges. d. bildenden Künste* and editor of Immermann's unfinished works, Fr. von Uechtritz (1800–1853) author of two dramas reviewed by Immermann, and W. Schadow (1789–1862) the leader of the art circle at Düsseldorf, who had a far reaching influence on Immermann.

Fouqué.[48] Heine and Immermann became personally acquainted at Easter, 1824, at Magdeburg. He did not always praise Immermann when writing to others about him. He declared that "Periander" was the worst masterpiece he had ever read. Yet it must be said that the friendship was lasting. When Heine learned of Immermann's death, he wrote to Heinrich Laube: "What a misfortune! I wept the whole night long."

Aside from Immermann's personal relation to the romanticists, what did the very term "romantisch," which meant so much to them, mean to him? Although he used it with sufficient frequency[49] to prove his honest and perpetual interest, it can not be said that he ever employed the word in a decidedly odd, vague or unusual sense. Novalis, for example, wrote:[50] "Nichts ist romantischer als was man gewöhnlich Welt und Schicksal nennt. Wir leben in einem colossalen Roman. Betrachtung der Begebenheiten um uns her. Romantische Orientirung, Beurtheilung und Behandlung des Menschenlebens." Such unelaborated, comprehensive, partly self-evident and partly contradictory expressions do not occur in Immermann's writings. He employed the term very frequently in a purely conventional sense, as when he describes[51] Prince Louis

[48] Of the other romanticists, Immermann had a personal acquaintance with M. Boissereé (P. II, 33), Chamisso (P. II, 53), Eichendorff (at Berlin, 1833) A. v. Humboldt (Berlin, 1833), W. v. Humboldt (P. I, 132), W. Müller (Magdeburg, 1825), Schleiermacher (Berlin, 1833), Rahel (P. I, 147), Steffens, A. W. Schlegel, Uhland and Varnhagen.

Of the other literary figures of his time, romantic and otherwise, he had either a personal or epistolary connection with Börne, Dannecker, L. Devrient, Eckermann, Freiligrath, Gutzkow, Theodor Hell, J. E. Hitzig, Hauff, Kohlrausch, Metternich, Müllner, G. Pfizer, Raupach, Rauch, Schinkel, H. von Sybel, Solger, Ranke, L. Rellstab, Eduard von Schenk, Adolf Stahr, Wienbarg, and Christian von Zedlitz, the Austrian romanticist, who bore about the same sort of transitional relation to romanticism as Immermann.

[49] To be pedantically exact, the word "romantisch" occurs 52 times in Immermann's printed works. Of these, 16 give no idea as to his interpretation of the term being simply such expressions as "das Romantische, sowohl als das Reale" (XX, 202). It is possibly not without significance that in one of these he refers (X, 108) to Delavigne as his favorite among the French romanticists.

[50] Cf. *Novalis Schriften* (Heilborn), 2ter Teil, 2te Hälfte, p. 584.

[51] Cf. XVIII, 58.

Ferdinand. "Seine Tapferkeit, Bonhommie, seine grosse Begabung für Musik nicht minder als seine Waghalsigkeiten und forcirten Ritte nach Berlin und als selbst seine Schulden, Ausschweifungen und Liebeshändel hatten ihn in alle Lichter romantischer Beleuchtung gestellt."

In addition to a few miscellaneous uses, as when he writes[52] to Michael Beer concerning his comedy "Nenner und Zähler" and says: "In diesem Lustspiele haben Sie vom Zufall einen recht romantischen Gebrauch gemacht, er behält seine ganze Wildheit und hat doch einen Anstrich höherer Weisheit, etwas wie ein komisches Fatum erhalten"—in addition to such use of the term, he employed it in six essentially different ways: as equivalent to "romanhaft," to portray a mood, to designate mediævalism, to describe landscapes and views, as the opposite of prosaic reality and in referring to the Romantic School, its poets and their creations. Thus, in order:

"Für Rucciopuccio blieb Emerentia daher die Freiin von Schnurrenburg-Mixpickel und hiess Marcebille, weil ihr dieser Taufname besonders süss und romantisch klang."[53] Then, Immermann is criticising[54] the modern school of painting at Düsseldorf, with special reference to Ernst Deger. He writes: "Und wenn diese Stimme eben die sentimental-romantische war, und wenn darin das Weiche, Ferne, Musikalische, Contemplative anstatt des Starken, Nahen, Plastischen, Handelnden vorwaltete, warum scheltet Ihr die Malerei, da Ihr die Poesei gelobt habt, der Ihr alle einen Theil Eurer Bildung verdankt?" Medievalism is referred to in his remark concerning his method of procedure in "Tristan." He writes[55] to Tieck: "Das conventionell Riterliche oder Romantische, wie man es nennen will, würde mich genieren und kein Leben unter meiner Hand gewinnen." And what he means by "romantic" is the great number of French terms that Gottfried had used in describing the chase, and the general medieval expressions that became an essential part of Gottfried's description of special occasions.

When applied to situations in nature, the term meant to Im-

[52] Cf. *Beers Briefwechsel,* hrsg. von Schenk, p. 234.
[53] Cf. I, 60. [54] Cf. XX, 204–205. [55] Cf. *Holtei Briefe,* II, 102.

mermann something bizarre, wild, cliffy or reminiscentially picturesque. He describes[56] the Moritzburg at Halle: "Die Moritzburg liegt mit ihren rundlichen Pavillons und der einsamen Terrasse so heimlich zwischen den umbüschten Wasserspiegeln. Ich fuhr diesen Nachmittag dahin; eine klare und scharfe Luft strich die röthlichen Blätter von den Zweigen; in der ganzen Gegend regte sich nichts Lebendiges. Für Jagdschlösser habe ich eine grosse Zärtlichkeit; wundersame Geschichten knüpfen sich an ihre Säle; es ist, als ob Einen da der Hauch eines romantischen Lustspieles unwehe." As opposed to reality, he describes[57] the Duke in "Die Epigonen" as follows: "Dem Herzoge sind alle romantischen Dinge Allotria, um welche sich ein Mann, der Geschäfte hat, nicht bekümmert."

As to romanticists, he has just heard Weber's "Oberon." He writes:[58] "In dieser romantischen Sphäre fällt Einem immer Mozart ein; da ist die Sache, und hier liegt der Begriff der Sache noch ausser den Tönen." This reference to Mozart as a romanticist is of more than passing interest. Eichendorff, namely, says:[59] "Die Romantik weckte das geheimnisvolle, wunderbare Lied, das verborgen in allen Dingen schlummert, und Mozart, Beethoven und Weber sind echte Romantiker." But Koch adds in a footnote: "Mozart wird sonst wohl nie zu den Romantikern gezählt. Weber hat (1821) die romantische Oper geschaffen, Beethoven vollendet nach Riehl die klassische Periode der Tonkunst und eröffnet die romantische." Immermann's conception of Mozart as a romanticist is also upheld by E. T. A. Hoffman, who writes:[60] "Nun! Und eben dies ist der Eindruck des Rein-Romantischen, wie es in Mozarts und Haydns Compositionen lebt und webt."

And finally, he refers (V, 46) to Flämmchen's "romantische Gestalt"; he speaks (IX, 41) of a certain scene as being "so südlich, so romantisch"; he regrets (X, 114) that in the Russian literature of Bulgarin and Puschkin there is a lack of "romantischer Zauber"; he calls (XIV, 6) "Die Prinzen von Syrakus," with its unending round of puns, literary travesties,

[56] Cf. X, 135–136. [57] Cf. V, 110. [58] Cf. X, 28. [59] Cf. D. N. L., 146, II.
[60] Cf. *Sämmtliche Werke*, Grisebach, Vol. 7, p. 152.

masks, estrangements and surprises "ein romantisches Lustspiel"; he sees (XVII, 72) romanticism in the family relations in Goethe's "Natürliche Tochter" and "Wahlverwandtschaften"; he speaks (XX, 110) of the "romantische Neigung" of Gebhard, Truchsess von Waldburg, Archbishop of Cologne for Agnes von Mansfeld; he refers (P. I, 353) to his first journey down the Rhine as a "romantisches Epos," and he says (Beer's Briefwechsel, p. 71) Goethe's nature impelled him "zum Naïven, Sentimentalen, Romantischen." In short, the word meant to Immermann what it meant to his epoch. This can not be gotten at historically[61] or etymologically,[62] nor can it be synonymized. It can only be determined by a comparative study of all the passages in which the word occurs.

And finally, reference must be made to Immermann's romantic lore as gaged by his private library.[63] He was profoundly read in German romanticism, and was possessed of

[61] Cf. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur,* Bd. XXVI, 192f; Ludwig Hirzel shows how the term "romantisch" came to Germany from France and England, through Switzerland. In this article, dated January 2, 1882, Hirzel traces it to 1734, thus taking it back six years previous to the use in Breitinger's *Kritische Dichtkunst,* II, 283 (1740). But in 1888, Hirzel (cf. *Anzeiger f. d. A. u. Lit.,* Bd. XV, 223–226) traces the word to what he thinks its first use, namely, in Gotthard Heidegger's *Mythoscopia Romantica* (1698). That this is the first use Hirzel attempts to prove by the fact that the word occurs in no form in a dictionary in *Teutsch, Frantzösisch* and *Latein* that appeared in 1695. Nor does the word "romantique" appear in the dictionary of the French Academy of 1694. In 223 pages of Heidegger's work, the word occurs once as "romanisch," once as "romanzisch" and thirteen times as "romantisch." Earlier, however, than the date here given by Hirzel for German is Sir William Temple's use of the term in 1690, in his essay *On Ancient and Modern Learning,* and John Evelyn's use of it in his diary in 1664.

[62] Cf. *Grimms deutsches Wörterbuch,* Vol. VIII, 1151–1161.

[63] *Catalog der Bibliothek.* A copy of the catalogue of Immermann's library as contained in the Goethe-Schiller Archives at Weimar was secured through the custodian of the archives. There are 1142 volumes listed. Of the German romanticists, the familiar authors are all represented. From England there are the works not only of Ben Jonson, Prior, Swift, Gibbon, Fielding, Sterne, Pope, Goldsmith, Sheridan, Milton and Shakespeare, but also those of Collins, Gray, Burns, Byron and Scott. From France there are not only the works of Rabelais, Voltaire, Corneille, Racine, Molière, Rousseau, Bossuet, Montesquieu, Pascal and Richelieu, but also those of Hugo, with the greatest number, De la Vigne, Béranger,

more than accidental interest in the romanticism of France and England. He had gathered various collections and isolated works that have ever served as romantic sources.

Was Immermann a romantic character? In studying the personalities of orthodox romanticists, two things become at once apparent: each one has some traits diametrically opposed to those of his colleague. Poverty consumed Kleist, affluence Brentano. And each one has some traits obviously possessed by those who are in no sense romanticists. So with Immermann: he did not have as consistently a romantic character as did Tieck, the Schlegels, Novalis and Wackenroder, nor did he live as romantic a life as did Hölderlin, Kleist, Brentano, Werner or Hoffmann. It is with his life as with his works; the romantic features are numerous but fragmentary, forming no coherent whole. He had some eccentricities that lead one to expect romanticism in his works. Not that these are the same as those possessed by any one of the genuine romanticists. They need not be. It is eccentricities in general that help make a poet a romanticist. It is the existence of eccentricities in the lives of Poe and Whitman that explains the romanticism in their works. It is the absence of eccentricities in the lives of Longfellow and Lowell that explains the absence of romanticism in their works.

From his tenth year on he was possessed of an abnormal desire to read and gather facts, something after the fashion of Fr. Schlegel. He read, he tells us,[64] anything and everything—agricultural reports and the "Divine Comedy." One of the first books he read was Rathmann's "Geschichte von Magde-

Lamartine, Ségur, Mezeray and Barthélemy. Aside from these, and in general, are the works of Ariosto, Boccaccio, Tasso, Dante and Petrarch, The epics and dramas of Cervantes and Calderon, the early philological researches in the Middle High German field by the Grimms, Simrock, Hofstätter, von der Hagen and San Marte, together with Ossian, the Eddas, the Frithjofsage, Arabian Nights, Rückert's Morgenländische Sagen, Theatre Francais Moderne (15 vols.), Des Knaben Wunderhorn, Volksbücher and miscellaneous compilations. Goethe leads the list with 63 volumes, Shakespeare is represented by 30 volumes.

[64] Cf. XVIII, 107ff.

burg," one of the last, Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered." Forbidden as a child to read more than a certain amount each day, he smuggled in "Polyeucte," and was surprised by his father much after the fashion of Goethe with the "Messias." He explains the trait as being a "sickness," that did not spring simply from a desire to satisfy a superficial curiosity, but from a longing to penetrate the centre of the unknown.

Another striking feature of his character was the way in which the dark attracted him, as also the hidden and mysterious.[65] He uprooted plants simply to study the complicated fibers and minute insect life that gathered about the roots. A sealed package of documents charmed him beyond measure. An unused chest in a dark, unused room was to him a Holy of Holies. These are traits common to many children; but they remained with Immermann through life, influencing his poetry to the very last. His favorite color was always black, and the reader is struck by the ever repeated recurrence to "unheimliche Abgründe" and "dunkle Höhlen." The picturing of such is a cardinal feature of his writings.

And then the contradictions in his life and his fondness for sharp contrasts. He could not reconcile himself to the fact that there must be a known and an unknown world. He was at odds with the known world about him, and his longing to fathom the unknown, something after the fashion of Kleist, left him discordant and unhappy. He claimed that duplicity was the chief characteristic of his inner nature, and that equivocality, or rather ambiguity, was the curse of the epoch in which he lived. He believed, with Tieck, that there is only a second between joy and sorrow, pietism and blasphemy, patriotism and treason. He traced the schism in his own nature to heredity: his father, a stern, brusque, heavy personality married, at forty-five, the lenient, tender hearted, cheerful eighteen-year-old daughter of the village vicar. And yet, it was not the world-woe and distraction that plagued Heine or Lenau which we see in Immermann. Lenau was only a poet. Immermann, like Hoffmann, had a variety of interests. His vocation was law, his avocation was literature, his recreation was derived from travel, and his hobby was the theatre.

[65] Cf. XVIII, 108.

This dwelling of two souls in one breast is also a common trait in the world at large. But that it was abnormally developed in Immermann is seen in the way it influenced his writings. His main works, as is evident at casual readings, and as he states, are all built on the contrast scheme. Aside from many poems in which it is applied, "Die Verschollene" moves in two wholly different worlds: the mystic one of Theresia and the realistic one of her earthly fiancé. "Das Auge der Liebe" is equally divided between fairyland and the land of crassest realities. "Kaiser Freidrich II" shows the struggle between the papal church and the imperial state. "Tulifäntchen" depicts the struggle between the dwarf and the giant, and contradiction is literally glorified as lord of the universe. "Hofer" was meant to bring out the elegance of the French as contrasted with the Tyrolese peasants. "Carneval und Somnambule" shows the difference between will and can. "Merlin" is the apotheosis of contradiction, while "Epigonen" and "Münchhausen" are both arranged on the contrast scheme, peasants against nobility.

Another trait that Immermann possessed, in common with other romanticists, was his somewhat supercilious, presumptuous attitude toward the great writers of his day. And this is so much the more striking in his case, because theoretically he saw the safety of the world only in the appearance of great men.[66] This probably came from his parental training. His father was a worshipper of Frederick the Great. Immermann says that in his childhood he could scarcely distinguish between Frederick and God.[67] History was for him only the biography of kings, geniuses, heroes and prophets.[68] But practically he did not adhere to this doctrine. There is something presumptuous in his defense of Goethe in the Pustkuchen affair, and he ridiculed the Goethe cult in "Epigonen."[69] He placed "Faust" below Calderon's "Wunderthätiger Magus."[70] In his treatise on the genesis of the romantic school, he attacked[71] the art-sense of Goethe and Schiller. He saw in Schiller only a dramatist of youth and for youth.[72] "Die Räuber" and

[66] Cf. IX, 85.
[67] Cf. XVIII, 42.
[68] Cf. X, 150.
[69] Cf. VI, 168.
[70] Cf. XIX, 134.
[71] Cf. XVIII, 164.
[72] Cf. XVIII, 162.

"Fiesco" he rejected, and "Die Braut von Messina" he declared[73] a failure.

When, on the other hand, he made (1837) a pilgrimage to the tomb of Goethe, he was, in addition to revering Goethe's name, also following up that old tendency of his to visit cemeteries. He wrote some of his best poems as a result of frequent visits to the cemetery at Düsseldorf.[74] He thought frequently of death, and it is a romantic coincidence that he, like Wackenroder, Runge, Löben, Ritter and Novalis, died before he had reached maturity. Lenau and Hölderlin, though they grew old in body, died young in spirit. The romanticists, as romanticists, consumed themselves in their youth.[75] Even Tieck and Fouqué did their best service for romanticism when young. Immermann had used himself up at forty-four.

Aside from these traits, Immermann possessed many others that can be classified but not explained as romantic. Until the last year of his life, he was without a home, wandering around. He traveled extensively, but not as Don Quixote, Sternbald or Taugenichts; he traveled as did Görres, Schelling, Eichendorff or Kerner, to refresh himself and then return more vigorously to serious life. He was inordinately fond of the theatre. His Düsseldorf undertaking ranks him with Goethe, Tieck, Laube and Wagner as a regisseur. He was also an actor of no mean ability. For an Easter celebration (1833), he wrote "Albrecht Dürers Traum," and he himself played the rôle of Dürer. He wrote to his brother: "I feel sure that I could make my living as an actor." Tieck, the Schlegels and Schelling were similarly inclined and equally endowed. Under the inspiration of Schadow, he made a thorough study of Catholicism. This sounds like a romantic tendency, but it lacks the essential feature; Immermann never became a Catholic. His eighteen years (1821–1839) of intimate association with that extremely romantic woman, Gräfin Lützow, resembles also one of the many romantic affairs. But it lacks the final stamp of romanticism. She was divorced (1825) from her military husband of *wilde Jagd* fame, out of admiration for Immermann. He insisted upon marriage. She re-

[73] Cf. XVII, 452. [74] Cf. XI, 345. [75] Cf. Huch, II, 156ff.

fused, stating that she wished to avoid publicity and be free in her love—she called it feeling—for Immermann. After this prolonged acquaintance, he took leave of her and married the nineteen-year-old Marianne Niemeyer, with whom he lived one year of unmixed joy. The affair concerned his works more than his life. It resulted in words rather than deeds. Immermann's character was not preëminently romantic; it only resembled that of a romanticist.

CHAPTER II

Romantic Sources: (1) Middle High German, (2) Romance, (3) Folksong, (4) Miscellaneous

Mir sind die Gelehrten immer höchst seltsam vorgekommen, welche die Meinung zu haben scheinen, das Dichten geschehe nicht vom Leben zum Gedicht, sondern vom Buche zum Gedicht. —Eckermann.

Literary movements go in pairs, one extreme calling forth the opposite. The generation of German poets born in the last three decades of the eighteenth century was confronted, on coming to years of poetic maturity, by the classicism of Lessing, Goethe and Schiller, the rationalistic philosophy of Voltaire, Shaftesbury and Moses Mendelssohn, and the rationalistic literature of Nicolai, Iffland and Kotzebue. The romanticists revolted. Reason, objectivism, the present and classic form were to be replaced by fancy, subjectivism, the past, and romantic variety of form. And this poetry was to flow from new bourns: Medieval Germany, Catholic Spain and Italy, the England of Shakespeare and Scott, the lawless and ubiquitous folksong—to these religious pilgrimages were to be made, as well as irregular excursions to miscellaneous sources. Immermann did not participate in these; he was too young. But he always lent a listening ear to the stories of his elders.

The following statements of Immermann give a reliable clue to the genesis of his works: "All my works are copies of personal experiences.[1] Literature does not produce the conditions of a given epoch, but proceeds from them.[2] 'Werther' did not produce sentimentality, it only gave it form. For a long while after my tenth year I read, with almost incredible rapidity, anything that came within my reach.[3] I have never tried to avoid reminiscences.[4] Every work of art is an imitation.[5] I have been called an imitator, and there is a measure of justice in the

[1] Cf. P. II, 271.
[2] Cf. P. II, 233.
[3] Cf. XVIII, 108.
[4] Cf. IV, 8.
[5] Cf. X, 75.

accusation.[6] I believe that my works show some independence and originality, even though I have not refused to lean on foreign models.[7] I do not know (1838) how 'Münchhausen' is going to end. Is composing (Dichten), after all, anything more than living in the highest power (in höchster Potenz), and do we know how our life will end?"[8]

These confessions, made at different stages of Immermann's life and under varying circumstances, show that a discussion of the genesis of his works falls into three divisions; personal experience, book source and literary reminiscence. The first concerns this study only as a matter of subjectivism. His book sources are in some instances given, in some indicated by the very nature of the work. It is these that are here to be discussed. It is his leaning on various models, and literary reminiscences, however, that make a just estimate of his indebtedness to other poets a matter of absolute impossibility. To explain: "Epigonen" is modeled on "Wilhelm Meister."[9] Excepting Shakespeare, there are almost no references to men of letters in "Wilhelm Meister." Omitting Shakespeare, Immermann quotes, or refers to, or criticises the following writers in "Epigonen": Aristotle, Arndt, Babo, Basedow, Byron, Cicero, Matthias Claudius, Cramer, Dante, Eutropius, Franklin, Gellert, Gemmingen, Goethe, the members of the Göttinger Hainbund, Hebel, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Claude Henri, Homer, Holbach, Hegel, Iffland, F. H. Jacobi, J. G. Jacobi, Kant, Klopstock, Lessing, Müllner, Mozart, Martial, Nicolai, Novalis, Pestalozzi, Paracelsus, Petrarch, Jean Paul, Madame de Staël, A. W. Schlegel, Gottfried von Strassburg, Sophocles, Scott, Sterne, Swedenborg, Schiller, Tasso, Tacitus, Tieck, d'Urfé, J. H. Voss, Virgil, Wackenroder, K. M. von Weber and Christian Weisse. From this it is plain that an estimation of his indebtedness to other writers is impossible. It is his book sources that concern this study.

A few remarks on Immermann's theory and practice of composition will be in place. Concerning a short story, he says:[10] "In a short story (Novelle) the plot is the main thing,

[6] Cf. IV, 8.
[7] Cf. IV, 8.
[8] Cf. P. II, 216.
[9] Cf. V, p. x.
[10] Cf. X, 210.

for it must first of all tell something new, since from this idea it derived its name." As to his dramatic theory, he says:[11] "It is not the mission of the poet to make his readers acquainted with the unknown; this is the business of science. It is the concern of the dramatic poet to transform the known into a mystery." Writing to Tieck, he says:[12] "You and the lamented Solger have both declared your dislike of arbitrariness in the dramatic treatment of historic themes. Personally, I prefer to give the poet all possible liberty with his material." In his "Brief an einen Freund"[13] he explains the origin of a work of art. Condensed, his argument is this: a work of art ordinarily arises when some significant phase of life is reflected in the sensitive soul of the poet, and drives his soul on with an indefinable impulse to give expression to this reflection. There is always an external something that first moved the poet to the creation of an original production. It may be in the present, may be in the past. This external something happened to strike a responsive chord in his soul, and then from the external impression and the internal response the poet's creative impulse formed from both a third, neither a faithful copy of the external impression, nor a candid confession of the internal response, but related to both, similar to the external, suggesting the internal, and clarifying both in the divine light of beauty. A poet must pay close attention to realities; he must attach his ideas to something real, existent, or he will soon sink into bottomless fantasticalness. He can not afford to cut himself off from the world. He is only a link in the great chain. God was the original poet. All others are imitators in the great world-poem. And he is the greatest poet who presupposes poetry in his readers. Such is the gist of the theory that Immermann practiced.

What was Immermann's general attitude toward the Germanic Middle Ages? He approached this unfailing source of romantic inspiration neither with the imaginative instinct of a

[11] Cf. XVII, 155. [12] Cf. *Holtei Briefe*, II, 50.

[13] This letter was written (1823) in defense of Goethe in the Pustkuchen affair, his purpose being to show that, in the very nature of the case, Pustkuchen's work must be a failure—its origin shows that it is not a work of art.

poet like Uhland, nor with the scientific appreciation of a scholar like Von der Hagen. It was romanticism that drew him into the medieval current. He never thoroughly loved the epoch because he never thoroughly understood it.[14] It would be asking much of a poet, who had been brought up with such a reverence for Frederick the Great that, as a boy, it was difficult for him to distinguish between Frederick and God,[15] to require him to love the "Nibelungenlied." It is, on the contrary, rather natural that Immermann should so drastically attack this gospel of German bravery at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of his career.[16] But it must not be inferred from this that he totally denied poetic worth and beauty to all Middle High German literature. He had the habit, in common with the romanticists, of ironically looking down upon things that were, in reality, dear to him. Moreover, he was a perfervid admirer of Gottfried von Strassburg,[17] Wolfram von Eschenbach[18] and Ulrich von Zazikoven.[19] He saw genuine poetry in the Eddas.[20] When he visited different places, it was

[14] Some of Immermann's irregular ideas concerning M. H. G. are the following: he held all M. H. G. poetry to be touched with barbarism (XVIII, 157). He read (1833) "Parzival" in the Heidelberg MS., and found it gloomy and monotonous: "A part of this dissatisfaction may arise from the difficulty I have in reading the text. A great deal of it I do not understand" (cf. P. II, 22). He wrote to his brother asking him for a prose *resumé* of *Parzival* and *Titurel,* stating that they were obscure in the original (XV, 38). He derived "Gral" from *sang real* (X, 176). He called Hans Sachs a Minnesinger, and Klingsor is referred to as "mythical at the time of Arthur, historical under the Landgrave at the Wartburg (cf. *Diary,* January 11, 1832)." In giving the book source of *Ronceval,* he refers to the Old-German poem "Der Strickäre," meaning "Karl" by der Strickäre (XVI, 7). He held Tieck to be the best informed on M. H. G. poetry of any one then living (P. II, 44). Parzival's questioning he misinterprets, confusing symbolism and reality (cf. Klövekorn, *Immermanns Verhältnis z. d. Altertum,* p. 9). This study by Klövekorn, valuable as it is in certain respects, contains some unusual reasoning. Thus, the author thinks (p. 3) that Immerman read (only) the *Nibelungenlied* in the original since he quotes the opening verse (XVI, 150) in the original! This is somewhat similar to and yet just the reverse of the argument according to which Chaucer rarely read a book through, because the majority of his references are taken from beginning chapters.

[15] Cf. XVIII, 42.

[16] Cf. *Edwin* (1820), *Tulifäntchen* (1829), *Münchhausen* (1839).

[17] Cf. XIII, 8.

[18] Cf. XV, 38.

[19] Cf. P. I, 296.

[20] Cf. P. I, 252.

medieval reminiscences that awakened deepest interest in him, as did Augsburg and Heinrich von Ofterdingen.[21] He never tired of reading Tieck's works that concerned medieval times. Even "Oberhof" is not without its reminiscences of the days of Charlemagne and a little later.

If his admiration of the Middle Ages was not as keen as one would expect, the reason is probably to be sought in the training he received at Magdeburg and Halle in the serious side of the matter. The equipment and preparation at Magdeburg were not calculated to inspire but to dampen any enthusiasm he may naturally have had.[22] Nor do the records show that he had a really encouraging opportunity at Halle to approach the field philologically.[23] The wonder is that he made as much of it as he did. And what did he make of it? How closely did he follow his medieval book sources? What phase of these attracted him? The answers and parts of the solutions will be given.

The book sources[24] of "Das Thal von Ronceval" are Friedrich Schlegel's "Roland"[25] and "Karl" by Der Stricker.[26] In

[21] Cf. P. II, 32.

[22] Cf. Rosenkranz: *Von Magdeburg bis Königsberg*, p. 96. Rosenkranz (1805–1879) was nine years Immermann's junior. He likewise attended the Convent of our Dear Lady at Magdeburg. He writes unfavorably of the Equipment, and in some instances of the instruction. Cf. p. 97: "Die Hülfsmittel zu diesen Studien waren sehr unvollkommen. Heinsius Teut der Bardenhain, Adelungs Magazin, Eschenburgs Denkmäler, Graeters Iduna, Hagens und Büschings Altdeutsches Museum, Docens Miscellaneen, Jördens Lexikon deutscher Dichter und Prosaisten, Schilters Thesaurus, Franz Horns Geschichte der deutschen Poesie, Tiecks Minnelieder, Küttners Charaktere deutscher Dichter, v. d. Hagen Grundriss zur Geschichte der ältern deutschen Poesie und ähnliche Schriften waren die Quellen, aus denen ich schöpfte."

[23] Cf. Wilhelm Schrader: *Ges. d. Friedrichs-Universität zu Halle*, 2ter Teil, deals with Halle from 1806 to 1840.

[24] Cf. *Briefe an Fouqué*, pp. 160–166.

[25] *Roland. Ein Heldengedicht in Romanzen nach Turpins Chronik.* Schlegels sämmtliche Werke 2te Orig. Ausgabe. Neunter Band, pp. 5–76. Wien, 1846.

[26] *Strickeri Rhythmus de Caroli Magni Expeditions Hispanica.* Edited by Johann Schilter, Ulm, 1727. This book was one of the "aids" of Immermann's Magdeburg Gymnasium. One can easily see how this work would attract Immermann, fond as he was of old, ponderous volumes. Philologically it belongs to the first quarter of the eighteenth C. Bartsch justifies his new edition (1857) as follows: "Eine neue Ausgabe von

Immermann's drama there are twelve main themes: (1) Karl's call to conquer the Spanish heathen (Prolog). (2) Karl's pledge to appoint Ganelon ruler over the newly acquired territory (I, 1). (3) Roland's love for Zoraide, daughter of Marsilias, King of the Moors (1, 2). (4) Karl's rescue by Roland in the first engagement (1, 4). (5) Moors offer terms of peace (II, 2). (6) Ganelon is appointed special ambassador to the Moors (II, 4). (7) Karl breaks his pledge to Ganelon telling him the governorship in Spain must go to Roland (II, 7). (8) Karl's summons to France to fight against Wittekind (III, 7). (9) Ganelon's treason (IV, 11). (10) Zoraide's baptism (V, 3). (11) Roland's death (V, 11). (12) Punishment of Ganelon and appointment of Zoraide-Maria, the Christian daughter of the heathen king as ruler of Roland's territory in Spain.

When Immermann says he was first interested in this theme through reading Schlegel's "Roland," the statement has but little more significance than the one according to which "Hofer's" origin is to be found in Tyrolese folksongs. Schlegel did give Immermann the idea, but he derived his data from Stricker. Schlegel's "Roland" consists of fifteen romances written in unrhymed trochaic tetrameters, the meter that had been introduced from the Spanish. The fourteenth romance contains the song of Roland in trochaic trimeters, four verses to a stanza, in miserable rhyme. Schlegel's poem contains the main motives employed by Immermann, but one can not speak of direct borrowings. The poem contains a few elaborate similes, some moralizing, and a large number of insipid, un-

Strickers Karl wird bei dem ungenügenden Schilterschen Abdruck nicht überflüssig erscheinen." Deetjen (p. 25) thinks that it is possible that Immermann could also have been influenced by Uhland's monograph (1812), *Ueber das altfranzösische* Epos. Also, Fouqué had, in 1808, under the pen name of Pellegrin incorporated *Romanzen vom Thale Ronceval* in his *Alwin*. This study concerns the two sources given by Immermann. It is to be shown also that, contrary to Klövekorn (p. 5) who does not think that Immermann "tortured himself through the 12,000 verses of Stricker" it was Stricker's poem that gave Immermann his main motives. Immermann did read the poem and confined his attention closely to this work. It is one thing to read a M. H. G. poem such as "Parzival," which Immermann admitted was obscure, it is quite another to draw a plot from a chronicle that simply tells unadorned facts.

poetic passages. It is Stricker's poem that Immermann followed. Yet we can not hope to find the same sort of parallel-passage imitation that is found, say in Grillparzer's "Ottokar" and Ottokar von Horneck's "Rheimchronik."

To note, then, the borrowings: Immermann gives Karl's call as being specially to Spain. Stricker makes it general, to all Europe. The situation is about the same. Karl sleeps surrounded by his paladins:[27]

dā schein ein lieht als ein tac;
dar inne quam im ein bote,
ein engel alsō lobesam,
der im ze boten wol gezam. 318–321. (XVI, 15.)

Mention is made of almost all Europe as being just on the eve of coming into subjection to Karl. Spain is referred to (355–358) as being a specially good field for Karl. The entire Ronceval legend is passed in review; finally, the close:

uf huop der engel sīne hant
unde tet sīnen segen
über Karlen den degen.
dāne sach er sīn niht mē,
dō wart ez vinster als ē. 442–446. (XVI, 15–16.)

Then Karl's promise to Ganelon: this is the theme that Immermann changed most of all, since it was his purpose to make Karl very human. The axis of Immermann's drama is Karl's breach of promise to Ganelon, which is not found in the sources. In Stricker, Ganelon does not wish to be made special ambassador to the court of Marsilias, since he feels that this is only a scheme on the part of Roland to shelve him. Karl quiets Ganelon's fears on this point as well as he can, and yet

dō schiet er trūrec dannen. 2203.

The love of Roland for Zoraide is typified in Stricker by

[27] The quotations are from the Bartsch edition (1857), since Schilter's arrangement of the poem is unwieldy and the lines are unnumbered. The parallel references in Immermann can naturally not be given in detail; they can be easily followed by referring to the scheme of motives given on the preceding page.

Karl's love for the sister of Marsilias.[28] Deetjen surmises that this is the theme that Immermann had in mind when he arranged the episode between Roland and Zoraide.[29] That this is a safe assumption is argued by the similarity with which Immermann and Stricker picture the danger of this love of the Christian for the heathen. The difference between the two affairs lies in the fact that Karl's love was a youthful one soon to be outgrown, whereas Roland converted Zoraide and made her his bride. Karl's rescue by Roland can be passed over without further discussion. The entire poem is made up of skirmishes, in which Karl becomes more and more indebted to Roland for some deed of generous bravery. The terms of peace and the accompanying gifts offered by the Moors have a very diplomatic ring in Stricker, which Immermann has turned into a beautiful, romantic interlude. Where the gifts are general in Stricker[30] and presented by men old in counsel and wisdom, in Immermann's drama they are confined to precious stones and jewels, presented by dainty Moorish youths.[31] The essentials of Ganelon's appointment and Karl's breach of promise have been discussed. Karl's summons home finds a parallel in the "Rolandslied"[32] but Stricker has modified this so that Ganelon's treason is even blacker than in the original:[33] The Moors feel that they can never have perfect peace so long as Karl and Roland are both living. So, on the advice of Ganelon, they persuade Karl that they are eminently satisfied with Roland as a Governor, and that he can quietly return to his native land. The proposition seems reasonable to both Karl and Roland. As to Ganelon's treason, this is much more a matter of fact in Stricker. It is one of the first affairs that confront him in his new position, and is simply a matter of jealousy. Ganelon lies in wait for an opportunity to take vengeance on

[28] Cf. 213–244.
[29] Cf. Deetjen, p. 43.
[30] Cf. 1320–1336.
[31] Cf. *D. T. v. R.*, II, 2.
[32] Cf. *Das Rolandslied*, translated by Wilhelm Hertz, section 56.
[33] Cf. 3740–3749. And 3965–3975:

Ruolant sprach dem keiser dō:
herre, ir sult gern unde vrō
hin wider ze lande kēren.
ich wil nāch iwern ēren
den vanen füeren unze ich lebe. etc.

his more gifted relative. Immermann, by introducing Karl's breach of promise, makes Ganelon's treason explicable, though naturally not excusable. It was simply a step away from the epic to the dramatic. Early in the chronicle, Stricker has Ganelon name his price:

> si muosen im bescheiden,
> waz si im goldes wolden geben
> umb des werden Ruolandes leben.
> si gehiezen im hundert tūsent marc.
> des wart sīn fröude sō starc,
> daz ichz nicht wol gesagen mac. 2488–2494.

Ganelon gives Marsilias the highly prized sword, declaring that the riddance of Roland is the immediate order of the day. A general oath is taken to slay Roland.[34] Then follows Zoraide's baptism. An exact parallel[35] is found in Stricker, where Pregmunda is baptized and receives the name Juliane. It is a romantic conversion. Pregmunda confesses her sins, and then asks to be baptized in the faith of Him whom Karl worships:

> dar wart ein wazzer getragen,
> daz wart gesegent alsō wol,
> alse ein touf ze rehte sol.
> alse schiere daz geschach,
> den gelouben man ir vor sprach
> und touftes in die namen drī,
> dā wir noch got erkennen bī,
> und hiez si Juliāne. 10404–10411. (XVI, 101–102.)

Roland's death in Ronceval is a theme Immermann could have taken from any of the various treatments of the story. He has Roland die surrounded by Walther, Zoraide-Maria, and one could also say his sword and horn, for these too have been his faithful followers in adversity and success. He dies the death of a nineteenth century hero. In Stricker his death is accompanied by all the supernatural accoutrements of medieval mysticism. He briefly recounts the services he has rendered his Kaiser, and then calls for God's messenger. The angel comes:

[34] Cf. 2878–2881.

[35] Cf. *D. T. v. R.*, V, 3.

dō wart ein ende sīner nōt:
den (den hantschuoch) enpfie der engel von im.
er sprach: Ruolant, ich benim
dir alle dīne swaere.
als er vernam daz maere,
dō schiet er und diu sēle sich.
sus reine und alsō lobelich
wart Ruolandes ende, etc. 8218–8225.

Immermann spares us the long story of Stricker concerning Ganelon's punishment. There was neither room nor reason for it in the drama. Ganelon, for Immermann, is simply the agent by which the death of Roland is brought about as the result of Karl's infidelity to a trust. In the manipulation of the final theme—the appointment of Zoraide-Maria over the newly conquered Spanish territory, Immermann left his sources, and naturally so. Yet even here there is a suggestion of a parallel. In Stricker there is established a hospital for Pregmunda-Juliane, over which she is to preside.[36] There is also to be a St. John Convent, likewise at Ronceval.[37] The remoteness of the parallel is plain, though the same general principle is at stake: Karl has conquered the Moors, and the result of his victory is not to be seen simply in the exultation that comes from success, but in availing one's self of the fruits of dearly bought victory. And one final reference: in a letter[38] to Fouqué, Immermann said that the basic idea of the drama was "wie das Christentum über Gewalt, List und Verrath durch seine Göttlichkeit und Milde siegt." In Stricker's *Prooemium,*[39] used by Immermann, we find this same idea, and in MS B, this wording: "Ditz puoch ist von chvnich karl vnd von ruoland gemacht wie si div heidenschaft vber chomen."[40]

It is significant that Immermann's first pretentious drama should have treated so conventional a theme as the "Rolandslied," and that his source should have been Der Stricker, to whom Gervinus[41] denies all poetic ability. But little is known

[36] Cf. 10952–10957.
[37] Cf. 10969–10973.
[38] Cf. XVI, 8.
[39] Cf. Schilter's *Thesaurus,* p. 1.
[40] Cf. Bartsch edition, p. 323.
[41] Cf. Gervinus: *Ges. d. deut. Dichtung,* Vol. 2, p. 71.

of Stricker's life. As for his genius, we are repeatedly informed that he doubted his own ability. His "Karl" is a rendering of Pfaffe Konrad's "Rolandslied" and a poem on Charlemagne's youth. Immermann was the first German writer to dramatize the theme. As to setting, characters, incidents, treatment and outcome it is romantic.[42] After this he left medieval Germany and did not return to it dramatically until "Friedrich II."

There was, however, no flagging of interest in the romantic age, only a lull in completed productions that glorify the age. Immediately after the completion of "Die Verschollene" (early in 1821), Immermann began a careful study of the Hohenstaufens. He thought seriously of writing an entire cycle of dramas glorifying the period from 1138 to 1254. Barbarossa was to be the hero of two, Friedrich II was to constitute a trilogy and Conradin was to close the series.[43] Tieck had, four years earlier, cherished a like desire.[44] Immermann finished only "Friedrich II." Writing seventeen years later (1838), Immermann denies the Hohenstaufen epoch dramatic utility:[45] "They (the Hohenstaufens) all hover unfortunately about half way between legendary and historical characters and are suitable therefore neither for a mythical nor a purely historical treatment. In short, they do not have legitimate dramatic blood." But this was written at a time when Raupach's cycle of sixteen dramas from the same epoch had met with a hearty reception on the Berlin stage, and on others, which had rejected the dramatic efforts of Immermann. Jealousy may have given coloring to the criticism, especially in view of the attitude shown toward Raupach in "Münchhausen."[46] There is nevertheless a measure of truth in Immermann's criticism, and his own "Friedrich II" was not included in his "Schriften."[47]

[42] Cf. Deetjen: *Jugenddramen,* pp. 23–49, for references to modern writers.

[43] Cf. P. I, 72.

[44] *Cf. Briefe L. Tiecks an Friedrich von Raumer:* December 21, 1817—February 2, 1818.

[45] Cf. XIX, 19.

[46] Cf. *Münchhausen,* Book I, Chapter XIV.

[47] Karl *Immermanns Schriften.* Düsseldorf, 1835–1843. XIV Bände.

The personal experience feature is marked in this work; it is Immermann's tribute to Catholicism. He had, since 1819, been brought more or less into contact with Catholic conditions not always of a favorable nature. On coming to Düsseldorf (1827) he was introduced to the Catholic art circle of which Schadow was the leading spirit. It was the struggle between the Papal and Imperial party that attracted him to the Hohenstaufens.[48] His method of composition is well shown here. It was his custom to carry a plan for a long while in his mind, and then, after it had thoroughly matured, to commit the results of his meditation to paper with remarkable rapidity, something after the fashion of Grillparzer. After six years of reading and planning, he began the actual composition, in the final form, December 1, and finished it December 30, 1827. It was published in its present form in the autumn of 1828. The intervening months were spent in polishing the style under the guidance of Schadow and changing the content at the suggestion of Beer.

The book sources are many; he prepared himself more thoroughly for this work than for any other.[49] But all of these sources can be resolved into one: Raumer's *History of the Hohenstaufens*.[50] It remains, then, to tabulate the pivotal ideas of Immermann's drama and compare these with Raumer:

[48] Cf. P. I, 72: "Mightily did the abundance of power and error in this royal race move him. The great struggle between spiritual and worldly supremacy, the wealth of action, the bitter outcome—all this seemed to him to be in the history of the age like a monstrous tragedy itself needing but few additions from the poet to produce a powerful effect."

[49] Cf. P. I, 180.

[50] Cf. *Litterarhistorische Forschungen,* Heft XXI, Immermanns *Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Hohenstaufendramen* von Werner Deetjen, Berlin, 1901. Deetjen's lengthy (215 pages, including supplements) monograph lightens the labor but is not direct enough to excuse the necessity of this part of this study. Deetjen, as the title indicates, was interested in Hohenstaufen dramas in general, of which he has cited many, and Immermann's contribution to the already long list, in particular. He has a section entitled "The historical sources and what Immermann took from them" (pp. 20–33). To this section the present study is indebted, but from its method of presentation the present study must deviate. A large part of these pages is taken up with the discussion of dramas by unimportant and unknown authors, as well as things that do not concern this work. Deetjen mentions as book sources also: (1) *Chronicon Urspergense,* (2) *Historia Major* by the English Monk

Immermann at least alluded to all the important incidents in the reign of Friedrich II from the flight of Innocent IV, June 30, 1244, to Friedrich's death December 13, 1250. The following, however, are the basal facts on which the dramatic superstructure rests: (1) Friedrich's unlimited power (I, 1). (2) The flight of Innocent IV (I, 9). (3) The tragic conflict in Friedrich's family (I, 4). (4) The Roxelane affair (I, 1). (5) Treachery of Peter von Vinea (I, 2). (6) The ban on Friedrich (III, 4). (7) Battle of Fossalta (IV, 1–11). (8) The imprisonment of Enzius (IV, 8). (9) The treatment accorded Friedrich by the Archbishop of Palermo (V, 7). (10) Friedrich's death (V, 8). To this might be added Friedrich's religion (III, 7). Taking these up in turn, and comparatively, we see that Immermann's changes are confined mainly to the shifting of dates, the condensation of characters, the changing of scenes and a general presupposition of the reader's acquaintance with Friedrich's previous career.

At the opening of the drama, Friedrich possesses unlimited power and is filled with unbounded hostility to the Catholic party.[51] He not only looks upon it as his enemy, he feels that his strength should endure no adversary. The entire Church is not only afraid to attack him, but fears, defensively, for its

Matthäus Paris (3) Sismondi's *Histoire des Républiques du moyen age* (Paris, 1809), (4) K. W. F. von Funck's *Geschichte Kaiser Friedrich II., a* work that drew Novalis' attention to the *Ofterdingen* saga, (5) and Dr. Ernst Münch's *König Enzius* (Ludwigsburg, 1828), a work that Immermann owned. It is safe however to say that the main ideas of Immermann's drama were derived from *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit* von Friedrich von Raumer, in sechs Bänden. Leipzig, 1823–1825. Raumer began this work in 1803. It was finished, and published in 1825. The last two volumes do not concern this drama. As to the date 1803, Raumer wrote (December 31, 1817, to Frau von Bassewitz, cf. *Lebenserrinnerungen u. Briefwechsel,* von Fr. v. Raumer, Leipzig, 1861, p. 81, Vol. II) complaining that for fourteen years he had been working on his History of the Hohenstaufens with advice and help from no one but Tieck. The citations are from the second edition, Leipzig, 1841. Immermann owned Raumer's work (cf. Catalog, Nos. 862–67). Of the romanticists, who concerned themselves with Hohenstaufen projects, Deetjen lists the names of A. W. Schlegel (p. 4), Tieck (p. 4), Fouqué (p. 5), Uhland (p. 6), Platen (p. 6), Grabbe (p. 10), Novalis (p. 20). The most modern poet to plan a work from this period was C. F. Meyer, who thought of dealing with the defection of Peter de Vinea, alluding casually to the Bismarck affair (p. 23).

[51] Cf. XVII, 166.

present safety. Immermann, as compared with Raumer, has magnified Friedrich's power and enmity.[52] He was obliged to do this, for Friedrich is a passive hero.[53] He does nothing heroic during the drama. The flight of the Pope is true to history.[54] The family conflict between Enzius and Manfred is an invention of Immermann as here presented, though Friedrich's reign was filled with family feuds. There was a similar strife between Friedrich's sons, Heinrich and Conrad. The introduction of Roxelane as a means of defaming Friedrich's character is an invention, as to details, is not, however, without corroboration in history.[55] The treachery of Peter von Vinea is historical[56] and forms good dramatic material, yet Immermann passes it over slightly here, since he had used the same motive in "Ronceval."[57] The ban on Friedrich was pronounced early in 1245.[58] The battle of Fossalta Immermann copied closely.[59] This sort of engagements, on bridges and by brooks, was grateful material to him. The imprisonment of Enzius is a matter of history.[60] The last three scenes picture the conquered Emperor consoled by the Archbishop of Palermo.[61] Immermann has here poetized Raumer, making a more beautiful than dramatic scene out of a plain record.

[52] Cf. Raumer IV, 54. "From this it can be seen that the Emperor had not yet overcome all his foes in Italy, but he had at least the upperhand. His troubles in Germany were likewise being removed."

[53] Cf. Concerning the passivity of Friedrich, for which he had been criticised, Immermann refers to *Lear, Hamlet* and Calderon's *Standhafter Prinz* as illustrious examples of passive heroes (XVII, 159).

[54] Cf. Raumer IV, 78. "On the morning of June 30, 1244, there suddenly was spread the news that the Pope had fled. A thousand suppositions and theories at once arose in the minds of his friends and foes."

[55] Cf. Raumer, IV, 105: "Friedrich enfeoffed Mohammedan princes, gave voice to Mohammedan customs, and did not hesitate to associate with unbelieving harlots."

[56] Cf. Raumer, IV, 201–206.

[57] Cf. Deetjen: *Kaiser Friedrich*, p. 22.

[58] Cf. Raumer, IV, 82–83.

[59] Cf. Raumer, IV, 197–199.

[60] Cf. Raumer, IV, 199: "Enzius was the most excellent of the sons of the Emperor, bravest in war and most amiable in peace. He was unusually capable in business, and withal a poet and singer. His form was noble, his long blond hair fell in curls down over his shoulders. Lucia Viadogola, the fairest daughter of Bologna, was conquered by the conqueror. Yet at twenty-four this noble king was imprisoned for life."

[61] Cf. Raumer, IV, 206. The simple statement runs: "Friedrich confessed his sins and was accepted into the Catholic Church after he had partaken of the communion."

It remains to point out the similarity between Friedrich's religious views, as given[62] by Raumer and dramatized by Immermann. There is a similarity between the religion of the hero and the poet. Raumer sums up Friedrich's views by declaring that, while not a Christian such as the Pope would have had him be, he was nevertheless not to be looked upon as an unbeliever. He went through an exceedingly checkered career, but did not, because of the adversity he encountered, reject the forms of the mother Church. He was accused of superstition with some historical justification. He believed in a God and was religious. He believed in the Church as an institution to strengthen his realm. Immermann has Friedrich say to Enzius, III, 7:[63]

> Religion, wer hat sie nicht? Wer klagte
> Sein Hirn des Blödsinns an, den Mangel zu bekennen?
> Das Rosz, das froh der Sonn' entgegen wiehert,
> Fühlt Gottes Atem. Und es fühlen ihn
> Die Vöglein, wenn im thaudurchblitzten Wald
> Sie durch die Bäume jubelnd tausend Perlen
> Von ihren Zweigen schütteln. Aber, Enzius,
> Der Glaube, dass der Höchste sein Geschenk,
> Vier oder fünf verzogenen Kindern nur
> Gegeben, sieh, der Glaub' ist nicht der meine.

The secondary characters are likewise taken from Raumer, as follows: Thaddäus von Suessa (R. IV, 101): "A man of penetrating reason, seductive eloquence, deep knowledge of the arts of war, just appreciation of the laws of peace, never failing presence of mind and firm will." Marinus von Ebulo (R. IV, 59). Bernardo Rossi (R. IV, 199). Boso von Doaro (R. IV, 199). Gherardo von Çanale (R. IV, 172–173). Cardinal Octavian Ubaldini (R. IV, 171): "No one worthier of the Papal chair." Erzbischof von Palermo (R. IV, 62): "One of the most distinguished personalities in the realm, an arbiter between the Pope and the Kaiser." Ambrosius, the Chaplain, is mentioned in connection with the bridge over the Skultenna, though not as Immermann has referred to him. Of the three unimportant Papal leaders, there is no reference in

[62] Cf. Raumer, III, 424. [63] Cf. P. II, 268–270.

that part of Raumer's history that deals with the last six years of Friedrich's life (IV, 3–211) to Visconti von Mailand. Ugone von Bologna is mentioned as Filippo Ugone of Brescia, the temporal podesta of Bologna (R. IV, 197). There is (R. IV, 61) a reference to Azzo, a distinguished professor of law at Bologna, one of the teachers of Innocent IV at Bologna. It is he, in the drama, that beseeches Friedrich to restore to Modena its ancient privileges.

In conclusion:[64] Immermann has here dramatized the last six years of one of the most romantic characters Germany has produced in life or fiction. Friedrich II was the centre from which all brilliance radiated and in which all glory was focused. He was handsome and clever, skilled in physical feats and versed in mechanical arts. He was generous to a fault.[65] He was a broad scholar, judged from the standard of his time. He knew Latin, Greek, Italian, German, French and Arabic. He was a practical lawmaker and a fervent astrologist. He wrote books on the "Care of Horses" and "Hunting with Birds." He was passionately fond of the chase and a great traveler. He is the father of art collecting. He was always interested in the Orient. He was one of the first natural scientists. He was a good sportsman and kindly disposed toward those of sporting instincts. It was one of his amusements—throwing a silver beaker into the sea from the light-house of Messina and having it retrieved by an expert diver—that furnished a parallel with Schiller's ballad of like content.[66] He encouraged all sorts of knightly practices at his court, Germans and Mohammedans mingling freely so "that the entire situation might take on a more romantic aspect."[67] He surrounded himself with poets, scholars, scien-

[64] Cf. Raumer, III, pp. 316–434. The section deals with Friedrich's personality and private life.

[65] Cf. *Walther von der Vogelweide,* Pfeiffer edition: "die nōt bedenket, milter künec, daz iuwer nōt zergē!" No. 149, p. 259. and "der edel künec, der milte künec hāt mich berāten." No. 150, p. 260.

[66] Cf. Raumer, III, 428.

[67] Cf. Raumer, III, 430. It might be added as a reason for accepting Raumer as Immermann's ultimate source that Raumer based his history in part on the other sources referred to by Deetjen, especially the work of Matthäus Paris.

tists and artists. He himself invented some new forms of poetic composition, writing, like Petrarch, in Latin and Italian. His favorite themes were the praise of women and the beauties of nature. His attorney and counselor, Peter von Vinea, wrote the oldest law book of modern times, and composed one of the very first sonnets in the Italian language. He was a bold advocate of free love, the most active ruler of his time, a worshipper of art, a crowned poet and an inspired admirer of women. He was a romantic character, and it is hardly possible that his conflict with the Pope was his sole attraction for Immermann.

The next important, by all means Immermann's most pretentious poetization of medieval story is "Merlin. Eine Mythe." This profound dramatic poem embodies the poet's views on God, nature, the world, man and life. After a decade of meditation, it was written between March 4, 1831 and March 10, 1832.[68] It is the tragedy of two souls in one breast, dealing, as it does, with the problem of inevitable contradiction superinduced by irreconcilable, contrasting duality. It is one of Immermann's most subjective compositions and is unique from at least four viewpoints: number and variety of sources, depth, or rather obscurity of thought,[69] complete change of solution after the composition had been nearly completed[70] and the fact that he carried this one theme with him through his entire life.[71] The personal experiences here recorded,[72] the

[68] Cf. Kurt Jahn, *Immermann's Merlin,* pp. 55–57. *Palaestra* III. Berlin, 1899.

[69] Cf. Holtei II, 62. Immermann to Tieck: "An exegesis going into minute details would not strike my purpose." Yet the same, more or less, has been attempted by Kinkel, Schücking, Röpe, Jahn, Wegener, Molin and others. See bibliography. Throughout the poem the poet is more of a mystic prophet than a torch-bearing teacher.

[70] Cf. It had been Immermann's original plan to make a great deal more of the epilogue. The song of the shades of the Round Table was to echo from Hades and Merlin, as a spirit-voice, was to epilogize the entire action, announcing himself as a secular Saviour, declaring that since all joy and all grief had not been experienced by one individual, the curse was exhausted and every one could receive consolation in the grotto of the sufferer. He saw himself, however, obliged to make the conclusion simple, symbolic and popular. (Cf. *Letter to Tieck,* October 8, 1832. Holtei II, 64).

[71] Cf. XI, 234–239, *Merlins Grab.* This poem was written in 1818. In

literary reminiscences here revealed and the book sources here drawn upon are many and romantic.

In a work as subjective, conventional, philosophic, artistic and literary as "Merlin," there are necesarily various stages of development, and the work itself can be analyzed from correspondingly various viewpoints. The following genetic epochs become obvious on a careful study of this work: There was first an embryonic idea.[73] This was followed by the main plot that centres around the hero.[74] Then comes the plot of the counteraction, or the action of those who help or hinder the hero in the accomplishment of his purpose.[75] Then comes general reading along the lines of the main plot and the counterplot from which material is drawn to embellish and poetize these two.[76] This gives us the completed, but unin-

1840, in *Düsseldorfer Anfänge,* he writes: "*Merlin,* which I learned to know as a boy through Fr. Schlegel's narrative (1804), and which I have since then *always* carried in my heart etc." He mentions the theme likewise in *Papierfenster* (IX, 130) and in *Ronceval* (XVI, 37).

[72] Cf. To sum up the personal experiences: Immermann possessed untiring industry, productive imagination and unquenchable thirst for literary fame in an age ill calculated to produce harmonious talent. His formative, educative period was seriously hampered by war and lack of leisure. His love affairs were unhappy and his acquaintance with Duchess Lützow unfortunate. He longed for idealism and beauty, but was surrounded by the crassest realism till 1827. For ten years he stood under the influence of Shakespeare, Goethe and Tieck, unable to reach up to them. Goethe had treated the same themes he had, only infinitely better. He had laid out macrocosmic schemes and had accomplished microcosmic results. *Merlin* is the poetization of the fact that we try the infinite and accomplish the finite after much blundering, summed up in Satan's words:

> "Weil als du Gottes Orgel spielen wolltest,
> Für Satan du die Bälgen tratst." (Koch, ll. 2548–2549.)

Klingsor is Goethe. *Merlin* is Immermann's *Faust,* and portrays the tragedy of an Immermann attempting to be a Goethe.

[73] Cf. *De la Littérature du midi de l'Europe,* par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi. Vol. I, Chapter VII, pp. 253–296.

[74] Cf. *Geschichte des Zauberers Merlin, frei übersetzt aus dem Französischen von Robert de Boron,* von Dorothea Schlegel und Wilhelmina von Chezy. Fr. Schlegels *Sämmtliche Werke* (1804), Vol. VII.

[75] Cf. *Geschichte der deutschen Poesie im Mittelalter* von Dr. Karl Rosenkranz. Halle, 1830. Dritter Kreis: Das romantische Epos, pp. 209–361.

[76] Cf. *Altdeutsche Gedichte aus den Zeiten der Tafelrunde:* Felix Franz Hofstätter. Wien, 1811. *Lanzelet du Lac;* Ulrich von Zazichoven. Also: A whole cycle of medieval poems, which rounded out the circle of Merlin; Parcival, Lohengrin and others (cf. Putlitz I, p. 296).

terpreted story. Then comes a series of philosophic readings from which views are drawn that harmonize with and give poetic form to the broad, general meaning that the author wishes the work to convey.[77] And when these are woven into the speeches of appropriate characters there results the developed idea. Also, conventional themes are few in number and much sought after. "Merlin" is Immermann's "Faust," and every poet has written one work that contains the gist of his philosophy of life. So, aside from all these readings, there is to be detected a group of literary leanings.[78]

It is impossible to determine with incontestable certainty when and where Immermann first came upon the Merlin theme. The least impeachable argument favors 1819 and Sismondi. In the autumn of this year he came to Münster and began at once a course of serious reading and voluminous note taking. Among other things, he read Sismondi,[79] drawing upon it for the general outline of his Petrarch drama. Here likewise is mentioned Merlin, with special reference to his birth,[80] character as prophet, and part in the establishment of the Round Table.[81]

There is no doubt, however, that the main plot of "Merlin" was taken from Schlegel's romance.[82] To summarize the chief indebtedness: The following characters are common to

[77] Cf. August Neander: *Allgemeine Geschichte der christlichen Religion und Kirche.* Hamburg, 1825–1831.

[78] Cf. Goethe's *Faust,* Novalis' works, Solger's *Erwin,* Calderon's *Wunderthätiger Magus* and *Standhafter Prinz, Hamlet, Romeo and Juliet,* Kleist's *Hermannsschlacht,* Kalidasa's *Sakuntala,* paintings of Raphael, Dürer and the Düsseldorf School. Excepting the first five, these references are taken from Jahn, pp. 84–92. Wieland (*Oberon,* Strophe 20), Goethe (Schiller's *Musenalmanach* for 1796), Uhland (*Merlin der Wilde*—1811) and Tieck (translated—1829—*The Birth of Merlin, or The Child hath found his Father,* written by William Shakespear and William Rowley, London, 1662 for the second volume of Shakespeare's Vorschule), all aided in popularizing the *Merlin* theme. Neander and the literary leanings do not concern this study.

[79] Cf. P. I, 54.

[80] Cf. Sismondi, Vol. I, p. 278.

[81] Cf. Sismondi, Vol. I, p. 270.

[82] Cf. Fr. *Schlegel's sämmtliche Werke,* Vol. 7, pp. 7–140. The names are given first as they are found in the poem and then the romance of Schlegel.

poem and source: Satan-Devil, Luzifer-devil, Candida-Jungfrau, Placidus-Blasius, Merlin, Artus, Yguerne, Niniana-Nyniane, Ginevra, Gawein-Gavin-Gawin, Gareis-Gareheiz and Der Seneschall-Lreux.* The poem has the following characters not found in the source: Kay, Klingsor, Minstrel, Erek, Lanzelot, Parzifal, Lohengrin, Titurell, die Götter, Hamadryaden and Antinous. The source has the following characters not found in the poem: King Constans, his sons Moines, Uter and Pendragon, Ulsius the Counselor of Uter, Anthor a famous knight, Vortigern, Ambrosius, Hangius, Herzog von Tintayol and various royal personages who participate in state occasions.

The following themes are common to poem and source and worked out with slight changes: the two scenes of the prelude correspond to, and cover, the first three chapters of Schlegel. The devils feel that Christ, born of woman and yet immune from their mephitic wiles, is impinging on their rights, redeeming men from Hell. They too will beget such a protector. Accordingly, Satan overcomes in her sleep a pious virgin of wealthy family, Candida, who has been obeying the teachings of a saintly hermit, Placidus, and when she awakens, she perceives that she has been mysteriously dishonored. In the second scene her dirge of woe is sung and her regret that she was ever born recorded. The main difference between poem and source is the fact that in the source the Devil brings Candida's brother, father, mother and two sisters to grief before he attains his end with her. The real action begins with "Der Gral." Merlin's birth, his prodigious qualities and the comment on them by Placidus, Merlin's compulsory separation from Placidus, his description of his own nature and the significance of the Grail follow the romance closely.[83] The poem expands rather than condenses the story of the Grail since this was always of burning interest to Immermann. Merlin's monologue[84] tells his purpose of rescuing the Grail from the narrow-minded Titurell and placing it in the custody of knights of world renown—just as Immermann believed in a

[83] Cf. Schlegel, Chapters IV–VI.

[84] Cf. Koch Edition, always cited by lines: ll. 304–327.

universal rather than ecclesiastical Christianity. Schlegel has Merlin sought out by astrologers to help Vortigern build the stronghold,[85] Immermann sends Kay after "the child without a father" for Arthur's sake.[86]

The seven scenes that follow have, episodically, little connection with the romance. They belong to the actual incidents of the Grail and Round Table. There are a few traits of Merlin here recorded that go back to Schlegel, such, for instance, as the fact that Merlin is the son of Satan only from the standpoint of the flesh, his character being inherited from his saintly mother.[87] Then there is the account of Arthur's birth as son of Uterpendragon and Yguerne,[88] and the Easter Festival, of which the Minstrel sings, and which Merlin, in the romance, calls into being.[89] The Klingsor-Merlin scene brings out the fact there is a greater than Klingsor. This brings us to the first Niniana scene. Niniana is the Rautendelein of the poem. The hero has established his fame as seer and prophet, he has done the impossible without changing God's laws, he has established the Round Table and redeemed the Grail, securing appropriate members for the former and custodians of the latter, and, impervious to every external force, has concluded by declaring himself the third in the Trinity. Then comes this Johanna-Lionel scene. Immermann follows the romance in detail. Niniana's irresistible charms, her life in the wild-wood, the enchantment scene by the hawthorn hedge, Merlin's complete undoing—these Immermann found in his source. The characters found only in the poem show what motives the poem alone uses. In addition to these, Immermann brings Merlin and the Devil into contact, and consequent conflict, in four important scenes. The romance does not report the death of Merlin's mother; she is saved by the wisdom of her son. This leaves no parallel to the scene "Am Grabe der Mutter." The main themes in the source not found in the poem are the various feats of Merlin that establish his reputa-

[85] Cf. Schlegel, Chapter X, p. 39.
[86] Cf. ll. 338–673.
[87] Cf. ll. 716–733.
[88] Cf. Schlegel, Chapter XXIX, Immermann, ll. 968–970.
[89] Cf. Schlegel, Chapter XX, p. 77, Immermann, ll. 979–980.

tion as a wonderworking prodigy and the wars between Constans and his three sons and Vortigern, together with a number of references to the early legendary history of England. Finally, Immermann has the Round Table destroyed as a result of Merlin's inopportune love; the source pictures the Round Table as living on after the fall of Merlin, lamenting his waywardness and subsequent unhappiness.

As to the details of the secondary plot, the following pivotal themes are common alike to the poem and to Rosenkranz. The traditional story of the Grail as it centres around the names of Christ, Joseph of Arimathia and Titurell;[90] the legend of the Round Table as it concerns, in the poem, Artus, Kay, Klingsor, Gawein, Gareis, Lohengrin, Erek, the Seneschall and the Minstrel;[91] Lancelot's love for Ginevra;[92] their common realization of the fact that this love is sure to lead to grief and the picturing of their fate under the story of Tschionachtulander and Sigune;[93] and Montsalvatsch as it centres around Titurell the protector, Parzifal the king and Lohengrin the messenger.[94]

The inclusive breadth of these themes and the fact that Hofstätter's two volumes contain, partly in verse and partly in prose, the "Lanzelet" of Zazichoven and the "Lanzelet," "Froner Gral" and "Theurer Mörlin" of Ulrich Füeterer—all discussed in detail by Rosenkranz,—show that Immermann's poem is entirely thinkable without one or the other of these sources. In the case of Rosenkranz it is a question of fundamental details, while Hofstätter gives an occasional embellishment.[95]

[90] Cf. Rosenkranz, pp. 275–276; Immermann, ll. 219–327.
[91] Cf. Rosenkranz, pp. 240–253; Immermann, ll. 918–1406.
[92] Cf. Rosenkranz, pp. 258–261; Immermann, ll. 1407–1463.
[93] Cf. Rosenkranz, pp. 283–286; Immermann, ll. 1733–1753.
[94] Cf. Rosenkranz, pp. 286–305; Immermann, ll. 1877–1986.
[95] The inherent difficulty in locating a given reference in a poem like *Merlin* is owing to the fact that, though not a fragment, it is but the outline of a work of vast proportions, and contains, therefore, unelaborated, isolated themes that might have been suggested by a number of "sources." Merlin's dictation to Placidus, for example, (Koch, 227–233) might have been taken from Hofstätter or the *New Testament* (Matth. XXVI, 26–29). Rosenkranz and Hofstätter both treat the story of the *Grail* and the *Round Table* and the traditional heroes that accompany these palladia of Knight-

Immermann's last and, according to Paul Heyse,[96] greatest lyric creation is "Tristan und Isolde." The story of the genesis of the poem is extremely simple. For at least ten years the theme had interested him.[97] He was happily married to Marianne Niemeyer October 21, 1839.[98] The dedication eloquently portrays the subjective feature.[99] The main source is given with equal poetic clarity.[100] And the method of composition is so succinctly explained that there can be no doubt as to what sort of poem the author wished to write.[101] The

hood. The one treatment is about as far removed from science as the other is from literature. There is this in favor of assigning much influence to Rosenkranz: he was a personal friend of Immermann and his work appeared (1830) just as Immermann began to gather his material in a systematic fashion.

However, the following themes seem to have been taken from Hofstätter: the minstrel's song (Koch, 1156–1193 and 1229–1236; Hofstätter, pp. 11–22 vol. II.); the Lanzelot-Ginevra episode (Koch, 1293–1463, 1733–1753 and 1987–2198; Hofstätter, Vol. I, pp. 3–225). This story gave Immermann little material for the love affair of his poem, more for the description of Arthur's court. These names of persons and places are also from Hofstätter: Lalagandries (Immermann, 1313, Hofstätter. I, 29–30), Iwerett (Immermann, 1313, Hofstätter, 98ff), Lymer (Immermann, 1313, Hofstätter, Vol. I, 41ff), Mabuz (Immermann, 1348, Hofstätter, Vol. I, 97), Dioflee (Immermann, 1264, Hofstätter, Vol. I, 84) and Schadlimort (Immermann, 143, Hofstätter, Vol. I, 97). The genealogical tree (cf. X, p. 78) is also from Hofstätter. As to Titurell and Lohengrin, Immermann read the poems of like names. It is impossible to say, however, what he took from them. His Lohengrin is a purely conventional knight, while Titurell appears but once in a minor role (Koch, 1928–1947).

[96] Cf. Koch Edition, D. N. L., Vol. 159, p. 178.

[97] Cf. XIII, 8.

[98] Cf. P. II, 302. Bartels, *Handb. n. Ges. d. deut. Lit.*, p. 511, gives Oct. 2.

[99] Cf. XIII, 21; *Zueignung an seine Braut,* Marianne Niemeyer:

> "Gestorben war das Herz und lag im Grabe;—
> Dein Zauber weckt es wieder auf, der holde.
> Es klopft und fühlt des neuen Lebens Gabe;
> Sein erster laut ist: Tristan und Isolde!"

[100] Cf. XIII, 25, ll. 121–124.

> "Horcht auf! Hört zu! Ein neues Lied!
> Von alter Lust ein heisses Lied!
> Gottfried von Strassburg hat's gesungen;
> Ich sing' es nach in meiner Zungen."

[101] Cf. *Beer's Briefwechsel,* p. 258. "It is a genuine pity that such a poem as Gottfried's *Tristan* should remain the exclusive property of book-worms and longhaired Germans of the old School. We should try to reproduce such a work just as Gottfried would write it were he living to-day. To

general method of treating the theme has already been indicated.[102] Of all Immermann's Middle High German sources,[103] this is the one the purport of which he thoroughly understood, the content of which he approached out of a pure love of the subject, and the result of which would doubtless have given him unalloyed satisfaction had he lived to complete his plan.[104]

In Gottfried's "Tristan" there are the following main motives: (1) Tristan's birth and the death of his parents Riwalin and Blanscheflur, (2) his rearing by Rual and Floraete, (3) his abduction by the Norwegian merchants, (4) his appointment as master of hounds at the court of Marke of Kurnewal, (5) his extreme popularity at Marke's court, (6) his being made a knight, (7) his taking vengeance on Morgan for the death of his father, (8) his slaying Morold and the wound he received, (9) his journey to Ireland to be healed by Isolde the Old, wife of Gurmun, and acquaintance with Isolde the Young, the Blond, (10) and his wooing Isolde the Blond for his uncle Marke. (11) Then, Isolde's admiration for Tristan since he killed the dragon, (12) her discovery, through the sliver and the notch, that Tristan slew Morold and her subsequent hatred, (13) her drinking with Tristan on the homeward voyage the fatal love-potion, (14) her fear of disgrace on arrival in Kurnewal because of her having yielded to Tristan, (15) her plans to secure herself against Brangäne's possible betrayal after her marriage to Marke, (16) her rescue from the Irish harper Gandin and restoration to Marke, (17) her secret

this end I am making copious notes of the motives that appeal to me as being poetic. When I actually begin to write, I shall refer only to my notes, and not to Gottfried, so that my finished poem may neither seem affected nor sound like a translation."

[102] Cf. Supra, pp. 54–55.

[103] Cf. Koch says it is very likely that Immermann used the edition of *Tristan* prepared by von der Hagen (cf. Koch, p. 176). Immermann owned this work, so doubt as to whether he used this edition can be removed. Cf. *Bibliothek,* Nos. 84–85.

[104] Cf. For other romanticists who concerned themselves with *Tristan,* see the scholarly work of Wolfgang Golther: *Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neuen Zeit,* Leipzig, 1907. One finds here a thorough presentation,—the title is not misleading,—of the wanderings of the saga. The names of Brentano, Jacob Grimm, Novalis, Platen, Rückert, A. W. Schlegel and Ludwig Tieck are found as having approached the material in some way.

practices with Tristan as discovered by Marjodo, (18) her being seriously suspected by Marke, (19) her persecution by Melot, (20) her trial by fire and acquittal by means of cunning, (21) her possession of Petitcru, (21) her banishment by Marke, (22) her life with Tristan in the love-grotto, (23) her actual detection by Marke, (24) her ultimate separation from Tristan. (25) Then, Tristan's unhappy love for the sister of Kaedin, Isolde the Whitehand.[105]

In Immermann's epic, only the first fifteen motives are covered. Of these, all are represented except the seventh, the vengeance motive, and the eleventh, the dragon-killing motive. In general, the difference between poem and source lies in Immermann's condensation, introduction of humorous elements, realistic descriptions and personal confessions and appeals to the reader on the ground of plausibility. No theme is motivated precisely alike in poem and source. The introduction is similar in both, in a few instances parallel. Immermann sings as did Gottfried, Gottfried sings as did Thomas von Bretanje.[106] Both will sing of love and sorrow.[107] of

[105] Cf. Here Gottfried's *Tristan* ends. Golther reconstructs a complete *Ur-Tristan* (cf. Golther, pp. 40–58), to judge from which Gottfried treated about seven-ninth of the entire legend. Immermann had planned twenty cantos, he finished but twelve; the eleven of part one, and one of part two. He poetized the saga up to the marriage of Marke and Isolde, or, approximately, one-third of the entire story. Notes as to how the remaining cantos were to be completed are published (cf. XIII, 277–287). These are too vague to necessitate consideration. Immermann followed the continuators of Gottfried, Ulrich von Türheim and Heinrich von Freiberg. There are 19552 verses in Gottfried's fragment. Counting relatively, there would have been about 25,000 verses in all. Immermann devotes 7,594 verses to 12 of 20 cantos; he had doubtless intended about 13,000 verses in all. For a discussion of Immermann's unfinished cantos, and their relation to the continuators of Gottfried as determined by Immermann's prose notes, cf. Klövekorn: *Immermann's Verhältnis zum deutschen Altertum mit besonderer Berücksichtigung seines Romanzenzyklus. Tristan und Isolde,* pp. 35–40. It is also here pointed out that Immermann's epic was influenced by *Sagen, Mythologie* and *Rechtsaltertümer* of the Grimms, as well as the *Volksbuch* in von der Hagen's edition.

[106] Cf. Bechstein, ll. 149–154.

[107] Cf. Bechstein, ll. 204–205:

"swen nie von liebe leit geschach,
dem geschach ouch liep von liebe nie."

Immermann, XIII:

"Wen nie von Liebe Leid geschehen,
Geschah von Lieb' auch Liebes nicht."

Tristan and Isolde.[108] Immermann omits the long introductory history leading up to the love episode between Riwalin and Blanscheflur,[109] begins at once with the tournament at Tintayol and places the lovers directly in the foreground. Tristan's rearing and abduction are omitted until the story is told in "Die Jagd," very briefly.[110] Immermann naturally describes a modern chase as over against the conventionally romantic one of Gottfried.[111] Tristan's popularity at Marke's court and his attending rapid promotion are graphically portrayed by Immermann's favorite method of contrast between the youthful, high-spirited Tristan and the old and jealous members of the court. A similar scene is in "Petrarka," where the old generation can not understand why the youthful Petrarch is preferred to them at the court of Hugo von Sade.[112] Immermann has Tristan dubbed a knight by Morold in modern, realistic fashion as compared with the formal *Schwertleite* ceremony in Gottfried, the grandeur of which occasion the medieval poet will not even attempt to describe![113] The duel between Morolt and Tristan is modeled on Gottfried with elimination of the gruesome elements.[114] The journey to Ireland and Tristan's treatment by Isolde is abridged in the poem by the omission of all preliminary incidents. The patient is placed at

[108] Cf. Bechstein, ll. 129–130:

"ein man, ein wīp; ein wīp, ein man,
Tristan, Isot; Isot, Tristan."

Immermann, XIII:

"Tristan, Isold'—Isold', Tristan,
Beglückt-Unsel' ge, Weib und Mann."

[109] Cf. Bechstein, ll. 243–1788.

[110] Cf. XIII, pp. 72–73.

[111] Cf. Gottfried devotes 1618 verses to his chase romance, Immermann, 724. One feature of Gottfried's poem is the great number of Technical terms such as: ze bīle, gevelle, bast panze, massenīe, curīe, za za za!, marschant, allez avant!, gerotiert, mehnie, condewieren and many others, a few of which Immermann took over.

[112] Cf. XVI, 257.

[113] Cf. Bechstein, ll. 4614–4618: Gottfried says that to attempt to portray this courtly scene would be poor taste on his part, since so many have already done this, and better than he can. It has been accomplished by Hartmann der Ouwaere, Steihnahe Blikēr, der von Hagenouwe and der Vogelweide.

[114] Cf. Bechstein, ll. 5871–7234; Immermann, XIII, pp. 134–144.

once in the hands of his healer.[115] The sliver scene is skillfully introduced: Donegal, a drunken Irishman, reels into the room, declaring to Isolde that Tristan is the slayer of Morold. She gives him permission to behead Tristan, but he must first sharpen the sword. Isolde brushes off the dust from the fatal blade, in so doing notices the nick and grasps the situation at once. She raises the sword, is ready to strike, her hair becomes loosened, and Tristan, seeing that this is the woman fated for Marke according to the swallow legend, begins, with great presence of mind the wooing. The love potion in Immermann is prepared with extended formality, elves and fairies helping to brew the wonder-working drink, so that it seems much more reasonable, that it should deprive the user of all self-control, than the simply concocted drink used by Gottfried. On the journey to Cornwall, the poem has the passengers go to the island of the nuns. The lovers are left alone. In Gottfried the drinking scene occurs during the casual absence of Brangäne from her charge. And finally, the situation at Cornwall on the return of the lovers: Immermann has Brangäne voluntarily offer herself as a victim of the situation in place of Isolde. The poem breaks off with the wedding.

Aside from these four major poems there are about the same number of minor ones that can be definitely traced to romantic sources. The first of these is "Schmied Weland."[116] It treats the conventional theme of the knight who brings his horse to Weland to be shod. Weland tells the knight to place the coin on the block and then turn away. He does so, and when he resumes his previous position, the horse, to the great astonishment of the knight, is shod and the journey can be continued. Immermann followed the saga as he found it in Grimm with no change of motivation whatsoever.[117] Then

[115] Cf. XIII, 145–158.

[116] Cf. XI, 162–175; pagination for all four ballads, inclusive.

[117] Cf. *Die deutsche Heldensage* von Wilhelm Grimm; p. 323. The scene is here laid at White Horse Hill, near Ashdown. The invisible smith is called Wayland-Smith, possibly because at this point, in 863, a valiant Norman leader, Veland, lost his life, and there has since been a confusion, or blending, of truth and poetry.

As to *Dietlieb*,—the original power of Biterolf, the primitive bestiality of Dietlieb, his later bravery, his avenging spirit—these themes Immermann

there are three retributive ballads: "Dietlieb,"[116] "Der Bettler"[116] and "Der Zauberer Virgilius."[116] The Nemesis theme is so rigidly followed that the poems seem almost like different versions of the same motive. "Dietlieb"[117] tells the story of Biterolf, once a powerful duke, now an old outcast living in a loam hut with his imbecile, giant son Dietlieb, who is more beast than man. Reginald, who has overcome Biterolf, and all his other foes, wants the old man to attend his wedding feast so as to add glory to the occasion by contrast. When Dietlieb, who lies in the corner of the room grunting like a swine, sees the approaching disgrace of his father, he is suddenly metamorphosed into a strong, proud hero. He kills Reginald, marries the abducted bride intended for Reginald and restores his father to his former power. This is a widespread and complicated saga with many contradictory motives, from which Immermann has pieced together this connected story. In "Der Bettler," the rich merchant, Wolfram[117]—the name is not significant—loses, one by one, his four children, who have been enticed to the forest by the song of the beggar. In search of them, Wolfram loses his own life. In both ballads, then, the original hero loses his life, when at the acme of usurped power, at the hands of his then weakest foe. In "Virgilius" the theme is much more naïve. Virgilius[118] steals the fire from his maid's hearth; the neighbors will not lend her any; then he steals it from their hearths and they are obliged to borrow from Virgilius' maid, this giving him a good opportunity to rebuke them for their littleness.

found in Grimm (cf. p. 340) under the rubric *Uebersicht der Dietliebssage.* There are various casual references in Grimm to both father and son. Reginald appears as Reginbald. Wolfram (cf. 330) is given in Lambrechts *Alexander;* Grimm maintains it is a false reading for *Ortwēn,* which would rhyme with *gelīch sīn.*

[118] There is no significance in Immermann's use of Virgilius in this connection. The magician is not referred to in Grimm's *Heldensage,* but when Immermann ascribed this power to Virgilius and poetized the same, he was simply following in the foot-steps of Dante, Hans Sachs, Wolfram von Eschenbach, the author of *Lohengrin* and *Titurell* and others. For a complete review of Virgilius literature, cf. *Gesammtabenteuer* herausgegeben von F. H. von der Hagen, Stuttgart, 1850, pp. cxxix–cxlvii, Vol. III.

As to the Romance peoples and their literatures,[119] Immermann's interest was unfailing, though the tangible results do not bulk large. Aside from various criticisms of Romance works—to be treated under content—there are but two productions that concern this section: "Petrarca" and "Ghismonda," the former his third important drama (1821), the latter his last drama (1837). To be sure, "Die Prinzen von Syrakus" (1821), which Immermann attributively called a "romantic comedy," plays in Salerno, centering around the destruction of Milan by Frederick I (1162), and the battle of Tiberias (1187), yet its source is not Romance, but personal. Likewise with "Cardenio und Celinde," which plays in Bologna, centering around the Turkish attack on Malta (1565) and the battle of Lepanto (1571), yet its source is not Romance

[119] Through the criticisms of A. W. Schlegel and the literature of Arnim, Brentano, Eichendorff, Grillparzer, Müllner, Tieck, Uhland and others, German romanticism has become inseparably connected with the names and norms of Lope, Calderon and Cervantes, of Camoens, of Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, Petrarch and Boccaccio. A similar series of poets from France is not to be found. Pascal, Boileau, Molière, Racine, Corneille and others did not write material that could later become the source of romantic works. With the Spanish, Italian and Portuguese groups, Immermann was familiar. The catalogue of his library shows that he owned the tradionally well known works of these authors, and his biographer tells us that he read them. Of the Spaniards, it was Calderon whom he knew best, and who, possibly, had the most significant influence on his own productions, with special reference to *Der wunderthätige Magus* and *Merlin*. A subject, however, which, to exhaust, would require a very extensive study, is the influence of *Don Quixote* on Immermann's works. He owned Tieck's translation (1799) of *Don Quixote* (cf. Catalogue, Nrs. 377–380). Here he may have gotten the contrast scheme, wihich he followed with unswerving fidelity. Also, the Roland theme (II, p. 19, and elsewhere), the hatred of knighthood and books of chivalry (Chap. 6, II), Merlin (II, Chap. 35 and elsewhere), the Emerentia of *Münchhausen* (II, p. 397 and elsewhere) as well as the entire Münchhausen-Buttervogel theme, the Cardenio of *Car. u. Cel.* (I, p. 287 and elsewhere), the Lanzelot of *Merlin* (II, p. 216 and elsewhere), his description of caves (II, Chaps. 23–24), the cutting out of the heart of the friend of Montesino and delivering it to Lady Belerma (II, p. 207–208), an exact parallel to the Tyche-Celinde-Marcellus theme in C. u. C. (II, 4), his fondness for the theater, a theme and trait of Immermann as described by Cervantes (II, p. 101), and his fondness for the chase, a trait and a theme in Immermann (II, p. 319). The references are to the Reclam translation by Soltau. That Immermann was influenced by *Don Quixote*, is further shown by the indisputable similarities in style—to be referred to in the chapter on structure.

but subjectivistic. Immermann's "Petrarca"[120] has the following pivotal themes:

(1) Petrarch's influence, literary and political, in Italy. (2) The corruption of the court at Avignon. (3) Petrarch's visit to Hugo von Sade, a Provençal nobleman. (4) Petrarch's criminal relation to Jeanneton, the daughter of the inn-keeper at Avignon. (5) Petrarch's meeting Laura in the cathedral, April 6, 1327. (6) His unbounded love for her. (7) His attempt to compromise her. (8) His banishment from Avignon and scornful rejection by Laura.

It will be seen at once that the drama rests on the familiar story of the father of the sonnet and the mystic Laura. The theme is the very simplest: Hugo von Sade invites his old college friend to spend a few days at his country place. The friend comes, acts indiscreetly toward the wife of his host and is consequently banished. A comparison with "Winter's Tale" will at once reveal the poverty of action and invention. The characters, beyond the rank of servant, are historical; likewise the main incidents. The meeting in the cathedral Immermann followed slavishly as he found it in Fernow.[121] It remains then simply to point out here the justification, in the drama, for Petrarch's attempt to compromise Laura in view of the fact that the sources tell how a simple smile from her was rewarded with a glowing sonnet, that they were never alone, that a hand-kiss from Laura would have been rewarded with a thousand fiery verses, that Petrarch was true to her until her death, and then true to her memory, and that Laura was immaculately pure, icily cold and classically cruel.[122] But Petrarch's character was different; also his temperament.

Petrarch calls himself the murderer of Jeanneton,[123] and justly

[120] That Immermann derived any material help from Sismondi is to be seriously doubted. He owned Fernow's life of Petrarch and followed it closely. The first volume of Sismondi, Chap. X, pp. 395–425, discusses Petrarch's love for Laura, her death, April 6, 1348, the corruption of Avignon, the crowning of Petrarch, April 8, 1341, his friendship with Colas de Rienzo and an appreciation of his sonnets. But Fernow gives, also, this material in much more tangible form.

[121] Cf. Fernow, p. 213–226.

[122] Cf. Sismondi, Vol. I, 406ff. And Fernow, p. 41ff.

[123] Cf. XVI, p. 297.

so. This side of his life finds abundant corroboration in Fernow, who portrays Petrarch as of only too weak character, as the father of an illegitimate daughter, whom he loved, and of an illegitimate son whom he treated with almost inhuman cruelty.[124] Then as to Laura: in the drama, Petrarch tells the long story to Laura, revealing his great love for her. For just a moment, she yields. Then, believing that even this is a sin, she hastens away.[125] Her sin consisted in taking Petrarch's hand. A word for word parallel is found in Fernow.[126] And finally, Immermann had a vague suggestion for Petrarch's attempt to enter the bed-chamber of Laura on the night after the fête. That is to say, Fernow tells how Petrarch thought of such an undertaking, but from a wholly different viewpoint.[127] Throughout the sources, Petrach's love for Laura is platonic and celestial.[128] Immermann has made it simply sensual. And in this change lies the important deviation from the sources.

Sixteen years later, Immermann again drew on Italian ma-

[124] Cf. Fernow, p. 191ff.

[125] Cf. XVI, p. 275; for the complete story, cf. Act III.

[126] Cf. Fernow, p: "Nur einmal ist von einem Geheimniss unter den beiden Liebenden die Rede, dem er eine ganz besondere Wichtigkeit beilegt; aber auch das Stärkste, was man darunter muthmassen kann, läuft auf nichts weiter hinaus, als dass Laura seine Hand berührt, oder ihm die ihrige gereicht hatte."

[127] Cf. Fernow, p. 52: "Aus demselben Leime geformt, wie die andern Menschen, empfand Petrarca die Liebe ohne Zweifel auf gleiche Weise; und wie keusch auch seine Muse war, so wirft sie doch an zwei oder drei Stellen diesen Zwang ab. In einer solchen Stelle wünscht er eine Nacht mit Laura zuzubringen, ohne andere Zeugen als die Sterne, und dass dieser Nacht kein Morgenroth folge."

[128] Cf. Fernow, p. 99. Commenting on this sort of celestial love, Fernow says it filled Petrarch's poetry with references to "Engel, Sterne, strahlende Augen, brennende Herzen, Sonnen, Flammen, Licht, u. s. w." Immermann has Petrarch explain to Luigi how Laura appeared to him in the Cathedral, and in the explanation almost every single one of these figures is found (XVI, 245–249). Peter Borghesi comments on this heaping up of sentimentalities as one of the cardinal weaknesses of Petrarch's sonnets. (P. B., *Pet. and his Influence on English Lit.*, pp. 125–126.) That Immermann used Fernow slavishly shows itself in the similarity of trifles, e. g., Immermann and F. both tell how Petrarch's father forbade his reading Cicero (XVI, 237 and F. p. 205). The character Miraval Immermann doubtless took from Sismondi, who speaks of Arnaud de Marveil, the troubadour immortalized by Dante and Petrarch.

terial for a drama, this time from Boccaccio. The drama is "Ghismonda," or, as it was first called, "Die Opfer des Schweigens." There are the following pivotal themes: (1) Tancred, Prince of Salerno, engages, against her will, Ghismonda, his daughter, to Manfred, a distant, ducal relative. (2) Manfred learns, to his complete undoing, that Ghismonda loves Guiscardo, son of Dagobert, an attendant at her father's court. (3) Ghismonda has Guiscardo swear that he will, under no circumstances, divulge the love confessions and requitals; his shibboleth is silence. (5) Tancred discovers the secret love of his daughter and Guiscardo, and stabs the latter because he is silent when questioned as to his relation to Ghismonda. (6) Ghismonda takes poison at the bier of Guiscardo, and Tancred, obeying her dying request, buries them in a common grave.

A glance at the Boccaccio story as Immermann found it in Witte's translation[129] shows that he followed his source closely, so far as the general idea of sacrificial love is concerned, that he changed the details frequently and arbitrarily. Boccaccio makes Ghismonda a young widow, pining to be remarried. Immermann had no room for this. The source has Guiscardo come to Ghismonda through a subterranean cave. This would, of course, be impossible dramatically, as also the detection scene. In Boccaccio, Tancred conceals himself in the bedchamber of Ghismonda, and discovers the two enjoying secret love. Immermann has this brought about at a garden fête,

[129] Cf. XVII, 284–285. The entire story, as translated by Karl Witte (1830) is here given. The same story, used by Bürger for his ballad, *Lenardo und Blandine* is given in Simrock's *Volksbücher,* Band 6. Immermann's library has two *Decameron* references: *Decamerone*—1053, and *Boccaccio's Decameron-Witte*—332–334.

As to further source, the fact that Immermann refers in the drama to Guarini's *Il Pastor fido* (300) and Calderon's *Der wunderthätige Magus* (301) and to *Tristan und Isolde* (333) necessitates no further investigation. Immermann always does this sort of thing!

As to a dramatization of this story it is interesting to see that Clarence Sherwood (*Neu-Englische Bearbeitungen der Erzählung Boccaccios von Ghismonda und Guiscardo,* Berlin, 1892) has a section entitled *Gh. u. Gu. in Germany,* p. 6–7. He mentions the names of Hans Sachs and Pürger, as well as those of Niclas von Wyle (1510), Hans Pöhnl (1887) and Albrecht von Eyb. He preserves, however, a Guiscardo sort of silence as to Immermann's drama, mentioning it not even indirectly.

where there are living pictures, of which Immermann was always too fond. They play quite a rôle in his works. The motive of "silence" is original with Immermann. When Tancred, in the source, discovers the guilt of Guiscardo, he has his heart cut out and sent to his daughter on a golden plate. Immermann could not judiciously use this—he had already employed a similar scene in "Cardenio und Celinde." The death and burial are similar in poem and source.

From the Italian, Immermann poetized, then, the mystic love of the father of the sonnet, a romantic form *par excellence,* and the best known short story of Italy's greatest short story writer.

Folksongs, those songs of the people, by the people and for the people, played a leading rôle in German romanticism. Herder first popularized the term "Volkslieder." Tieck resuscitated them, A. W. Schlegel explained their literary significance, Arnim and Brentano collected them, Weber, Lortzing, Schubert and Schumann set them to music, Heine and Wilhelm Müller imitated them, Chamisso, Eichendorff, Rückert, Schenkendorf and Uhland wrote new ones, all the romanticists concerned themselves, to a greater or less degree, with these cryptic symbols of subjective emotion, these songs that constitute not so much an exact expression of life as a poetic transcription of life. Immermann, too, read them, owned the traditional collections, quoted them occasionally, and based four dramas upon them. Of these, the first is "Edwin." There are the following pivotal themes: (1) the abduction and mysterious disappearance of Edwin, son of Aella, King of Deira, while under the guardianship of Adalfried, now king of Northumberland and Deira. (2) The attempt on the part of rebellious Deirans, headed by Redwald, to overthrow Adalfried. (3) Redwald's selfish motives checked by the announcement that Edwin still lives. (4) Edwin's marriage to Ethelburga, daughter of the woodsman, Offa, who reared him. (5) Edwin's imprisonment for trespassing against the game laws of Adalfried, the existence of which he was ignorant. (6) His liberation because of re-

semblance to Aella. (7) His elevation to the throne by the people. (8) Redwald's unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Edwin. (9) The abduction of Osfried, Edwin's son, by Adalfried's party and the refusal to manumit the heir so long as the father lays claim to Deira. (10) Edwin, deaf to all appeals of his wife for the safety of their son, proceeds to get back Deira, as result of which Adalfried, Oswy his son, and Osfried lose their lives, and Ethelburga deserts Edwin, leaving Edwin king, but utterly alone.

The romantic source[130] contains the following themes: (1) the romantic life of the three poachers in the wild wood, near Carlisle. (2) William's secret visit to his family at night and consequent capture. (3) The rescuing of his family and his own escape, with the help of his friends, Adam and Clym. (4) Their appeal to the king, at London, for mercy. (5) Their complete acquittal and subsequent reward by the king as a result of William's master shot—he shoots an apple from the head of his son, at six score paces! A comparative reading of poem and source shows that Edwin's life as poacher in the forest, his persecution, his capture, his escape, his subsequent elevation to the throne are taken directly from the ballad.

Concerning the Tell motive: Immermann could not apply this directly as he found it in the ballad. But there are Tell suggestions: his family life, his appellation "frecher Schütze," his care for his people when oppressed, and his rescue. The entire drama, be it said in this connection, is the best example of Immermann as a supercilious romanticist. The work is dedicated to Goethe by Immermann, then unknown. There is a prologue[131] modelled after Chaucer, Petrarch, Dante, Vergil and Goethe! The drama discusses the weightiest affairs of kings and chancellors. To the task and its accomplishment, the poet was not equal. And it best shows his dramatic remi-

[130] The romantic source, aside from Immermann's studies in church history and the chaotic state of the seventh century Anglo-saxon Heptarchy, which have nothing to do with this study, is the Old-English Ballad: *Adam Bel, Clym of the Clough, and Wyllyam of Cloudsle.* Putlitz (I, 66) pointed out that Immermann used a ballad, but it was the good service of Deetjen *Immermann's Jugenddramen,* p. 57) to locate this ballad (*Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry,* by Joseph Ritson, 2d ed., London, 1833).

[131] Cf. Deetjen, pp. 51–55.

niscences. The entire work is a mosaic of "Henry IV,"[132] "Cymbeline,"[133] "Hamlet,"[134] "Phädra"[135] "Nathan der Weise"[136] and Goethe and Schiller, with special reference to "Götz von Berlichingen" and "Wilhelm Tell." The reader sometimes pauses to ask the question: Is this Götz, Tell, or Edwin speaking?[137]

Aside from the ballad source, Immermann quotes the folksongs" Maria, wo bist Du zur Stube gewesen" (XVI, 166), "Es wirbt ein schöner Knabe" (XVI, 145) and a Bänkelsänger sings "Blau, blau, blau ist der Himmel."

Closely following "Edwin" is the one act dramatic sketch "Die Verschollene," Immermann's first contribution to mysticism, and the first demonstration of the fact that a theme which moves in two entirely different and sharply contrasted spheres was of enduring interest to him. He incorporated the first version (1821) in the novelette "Die Papierfenster," and then gave an independent version in 1834. By way of introduction to both compositions[138] he comments on the attraction offered by the opportunity to amalgamate the mystic world of Theresia and the material world of Therese. He tells how the ballad, "Die Eile der Zeit in Gott,"[139] appealed to him as being worthy of more pretentious treatment, and hence his dramatic efforts.[140]

The contents of the ballad, in brief, are as follows: the pious Theresia, daughter of the Commandant of Grosswardein, in order to escape being married to a wealthy nobleman,[141]

[132] The usurpation, rebellion and overthrow themes, Redwald being the opposite of Fiesco or Rienzi.

[133] The banishment-abduction themes and the Rosalinda-Imogen mask.

[134] The question as to whether life is worth the worry.

[135] The absence of Theseus and the consequent changes in rulers.

[136] The sparing Edwin-Tempelherr because of his resemblance to Aella-Assad.

[137] The kindhearted, brave, domestic yet nationally liberal character of Götz, Tell and Edwin and their brave yet anxious wives.

[138] Cf. IX, 126 for first version, and XVII, 375 for the second version.

[139] *Des Knabenwunderhorn*—Reclam—pp. 46–49.

[140] For a discussion of the first version, cf. Deetjen, pp. 71–79.

[141] The same theme—refusal to marry and live an active life—so different from the theme of *Ghismonda,* was used by Immermann in a number of poems: *Sancta Cäcilia* (XI, 144), *Der Pilger* (XI, 145), *Der Klausner* (XI, 240). The repeating, consciously or unconsciously, of a given theme is an Immermann trait.

goes into the garden and appeals to Jesus for help. Jesus spirits her away to His Father's garden as His bride. He shows her the beauties of the garden, and then takes her home. She thinks she has been gone one day, learns, however, that she has been absent one hundred and twenty years. When she hears where she has been, she dies. Immermann took over the ballad literally, quoting six of the thirty stanzas directly, and giving the rest of the story in Theresia's account of her absence. In order to have a dramatic conflict, Immermann established a feud between the family Finkenstein, to which Theresia belonged, and Scharfenstein, to which her lover belonged. The marriage, then, four generations later, of Therese Finkenstein and Adalbert Scharfenstein is made possible only by the sudden return of the long lost Theresia.

And finally, there is another drama, "Andreas Hofer," likewise in two versions,[142] that owes its most remote origin, or rather suggestion, to folksongs.

Immermann tells[143] how, in his thirteenth year, "the tragic story of Andreas Hofer resounded, like a distant, dying song in the plains of Germany." In 1826,[144] he heard, in Magdeburg, the Rainer brothers singing those simple lays that glorify Hofer's heroism, and he decided to dramatize the theme. In the first version,[145] Hofer asks the Rainers to sing the song of the chamois, which, rather than be caught by the Frenchman, threw itself into the abyss. The appropriateness is clear, and the composition is more than likely original with Immermann. In the version of 1833, Hofer asks[146] the singers to sing "ein paar Schnaderhüpfln, grün und lustig." And they sing a Tyrolese song, rich in local color, beginning:

A frisha Bua bin i,
Hab drei Federln am Hut.

It has been impossible to locate the song. The genuine ring of the dialect militates against the claim of originality for Im-

[142] First version (1826), second (1833), are both based on well known historical facts. It was the folksongs that immortalize the hero, Hofer, that called Immermann's attention to the theme and its value.

[143] Cf. XVI, 469.

[144] Cf. P. I, 148.

[145] Cf. XVII, 64–66.

[146] Cf. XVI, 512–513.

mermann. It might have been modeled on the one in "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"[147] beginning:

Es trägt ein Jäger ein grünen Hut.

This, then, is Immermann's indebtedness to those songs, a collection of which constitute "ein allgemeines Denkmal der Deutschen, das Grabmal der Vorzeit, das frohe Mal der Gegenwart und der Zukunft ein Merkmal in der Rennbahn des Lebens."[148] And though the actual material[149] contained in the songs in the case of "Hofer" is small, the romantic inspiration was so much the greater. This drama is Immermann's best monument to his love for these lays of the people.

Aside from these works, there are a number by Immermann, which, though not traceable to romantic sources from the standpoint of content, are of romantic origin. To explain: "Nathan der Weise," has, as its origin, Lessing's experiences with bigotry and his belief in the virtue of tolerance. The source of "Nathan der Weise" is to be sought in Boccaccio and elsewhere. And so with the German romanticists; there were certain themes of peculiar attraction to them. The following works of Immermann, chronologically arranged, are, from the standpoint of embryonic inspiration, of romantic origin:

"Die Prinzen von Syrakus" (1821) and "Das Auge der Liebe" (1823), are Immermann's contributions to the ro-

[147] Cf. *Des Knaben Wunderhorn-Reclam,* pp. 398–401.

[148] Cf. *Arnims Werke,* hrsg. von Monty Jacobs, Vol. I, p. 88. Other instances of Immermann's use of *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* are in *Petrarca* (XVI, 230), where the first two lines of *Martinsgans* (Reclam, 153–154) are quoted; and in *Die Prinzen von Syrakus* (XIV, 12), where the entire song, *Die Rose Blüht; ich bin die fromme Biene* (Reclam, 160–170) appears.

[149] Cf. *Euphorion,* Bd, 7, 1900: *Ueber die Quellen zu Immermanns Trauerspiel in Tirol,* pp. 78–96, by H. Röttinger. The monograph concerns itself with the historical background.

The similarity of *Hofer* to *Tell* is apparent. Immermann followed, however, not only *Tell,* but the romantic features of the *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* with the sword, and Karl Moor-Nepomuk von Kolb on the Danube—also romantic sources. The entire drama savors of romanticism. *The Evening Sun* (New York) speaks (July 10, 1909) thus of Hofer and his followers: "Their adventures during that bitter struggle against overwhelming odds are as romantic and marvelous as were ever told in history or fiction."

mantic revivification of Shakespeare, who, not simply as the author of four romantic dramas, but as the poet of "progressive, universal poetry"[150] concerned, roughly speaking, all of the German romanticists in some way. They made him known to the world.[151] Many of Immermann's dramas show Shakespearean influence, especially "Edwin," but "D.P.v.S" is Shakespeare's "Comedy of Errors." This is seen not only in the theme, in which separated brothers seek and find each other, but in the general tone of superficiality, the lack of any underlying thought that characterizes both works. "D.A.d.L" is Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream." Immermann has literally taken over the characters Oberon, Titania, Puck, the Fairies, and, to a certain degree, the realistic characters. And in the poem "Sommerabendtraum,"[152] Immermann poetizes, through the dialogue of Lindenblüthe, Zittergras, Farnkraut, Titania and Zettel, Titania's love for Zettel even with ass's ears.

"Die Papierfenster eines Eremiten"[153] (1822) is an *Ich-Roman*. The romanticists confessed gladly and frequently. "William Lovell" is Ludwig Tieck's confession. Tieck characterized the work as a "mausoleum of cherished and nourished sorrows and mistakes."[154] The hermit represents Immermann, who described the purport of his work in genuine Tieckian fashion.[155] The story is that of a man who tries to heal his broken heart by loving another,—a personal experience with Immermann here poetically confessed. "Konig

[150] Cf. Friedrich Schlegel, hrsg. von Minor (*Jugendschriften*), p. 220, Bd. I.

[151] Cf. Friedrich Schlegel, hrsg. von Minor (*Jugendschriften*), p. 13, Bd. II: "Man darf kühnlich behaupten dass Shakespeare nächst den Engländern keinem Volke so eigenthümlich angehört, wie den Deutschen, weil er von keinem in Original und in der Kopie so viel gelesen, so tief studiert, so warm geliebt, und so einsichtsvoll geliebt wird."

[152] Cf. XI, 256.

[153] Cf. VIII, 4: Immermann's biographers and editors give as content source, Augustine's *Confessions* and Jacobi's *Von den göttlichen Dingen*. It is, however, impossible to find any parallel similarity between source and poem. The indebtedness that can be determined by comparative study springs from similarity of theme, not from that of content by way of actual confession.

[154] Cf. Solgers *Nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, p. 342.

[155] Cf. IX, 4.

Periander und sein Haus" (1822), though a literal dramatization of a chapter of Herodotus, owes its remote origin to Immermann's passing interest in the fate-drama, as it concerned German dramatists from 1815 to 1825. It is Immermann's least subjective work. As a lawyer—Werner, Müllner, Houwald, and in a sense Grillparzer, were also lawyers—he was interested in the theme of eventual punishment for a committed crime. Periander, King of Corinth, has murdered his wife, Melitta. His two sons, Thrasyll and Lykophron, are the last surviving members of his house. As a result of his crime, the sons come to an untimely end, the father then takes his own life. The word "Schicksal" is of frequent occurrence in the drama.[156] "Der neue Pygmalion" (1823) owes its origin to the popular romantic theme of the animation of the inanimate. Immermann has taken as the background of his novel the familiar theme as it centres around Venus, Pygmalion, Galatea and Paphos. It was treated also by Tieck, A. W. Schlegel, Dorothea Schlegel, Friedrich Kind, Novalis, and referred to by Fouqué in "Undine."[157] This, and the legends of Tannhäuser, Arion, Narzissus and others all furnished themes for the romanticists.[158]

"Die Verkleidungen" (1827) is Immermann's tribute to Walter Scott, also a romantic reviver of the past. Scott, naturally, can not be said to have influenced the German romanticists as he did Hugo, Balzac, Stendhal, de Vigny, and Merimée—"Waverly" did not appear until 1814—yet he was read by Tieck, Fouqué and Arnim.[159] In the play, Eduard Sternberg, the actor, appears masked as "Der grosse Unbekannte" (Scott). There are various references throughout

[156] Cf. XVI, 361. Der erste Vorsteher says: "Er (Periander) hat sein Schicksal in der Hand." Der zweite replies: "Das hat der Mensch nie, denn er ist wunderbaren Einflüssen unterworfen."

[157] Cf. *Undine,* Chapter VIII.

[158] Cf. *Studien zur neuhochdeutschen Legendendichtung* (pp. 54–69), Paul Merker.

[159] Cf. *Historische Romane deutscher Romantiker,* Dr. Karl Wenger, Bern, 1905. The work is an essay on the influence of Scott. Immermann translated Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1824) to practice his English. (P. I, 117.) It has been impossible to secure a copy of this translation. Four of the *Ivanhoe* ballads are included among his poems (cf. XI, 126–130).

to Scott's works. The mask idea is here more than a mere coincidence.

"Tulifäntchen" (1829) is an example, *par excellence,* of romantic irony. That Immermann was here merely satirizing Platen can be believed only by those unfamiliar with Immermann's previous life and works.[160] It is a work born of that feeling that causes one to take a perspective of the past and then laugh at it all. Immermann was ironically smiling at some of his own past efforts. Tulifäntchen, with a knife blade for a sword, a groschen for a shield, a nut-shell for armor, starts out to right mighty wrongs, and finds himself at last locked in a bird-cage.

"Der Carneval und die Somnambule" (1829) contains what Immermann had to say on the subjects of animal magnetism, clairvoyancy, somnambulism and similar pseudo-sciences, all of which found defenders and antagonists among the regular romanticists.[161]

"Das Heidelberger Schlossmärchen" (1831) is the offspring of such interest in the artistic fairy-tale as was shown by Goethe, Novalis, Chamisso, Tieck, Fouqué and Hoffmann.[162] In the same class might be placed "Das Anderl von Rinn—eine Legende" (1833).[163]

"Albrecht Dürers Traum" (1833) glorifies art in general and Dürer in particular. From Wackenroder[164] on the romanticists venerated the old German artists. In this festival play, Dürer is at first discouraged. Then there appear to him in a

[160] All Immermann editors raise the question as to whether he had Platen in mind when he wrote *Tulifäntchen.*

[161] Cf. *Franz Anton Mesmer, Entdecker des thierischen Magnetismus* von Dr. Justinus Kerner. The chapter (pp. 18–50) on *Mesmers erste magnetische Heilungen* bears a striking similarity to the cures related in *D. C. u. d. S.* and ascribed to the Polish Countess Sidonie.

[162] Cf. *Ueber die Entwickelung des rom. Kunstmärchens,* Hermann Todsen, Berlin, 1906. Respectively: *Das Märchen, Rosenblütchen und Hyacinth, Adalberts Fabel, Der blonde Eckbert, Undine* and *Der goldene Topf.*

[163] Cf. X, pp. 255–256. *Das Waldmärchen* (III, pp. 74–96) belongs also in this class.

[164] Cf. *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (Jessen edition) p. 81: "Friede sey mit deinen Gebeinen, mein Albrecht Dürer! und möchtest du wissen, wie ich dich lieb habe, und hören, wie ich unter der heutigen, dir fremden Welt, der Herold deines Namens bin.—Gesegnet mir deine goldene Zeit."

dream vision his two famous creations "Melancholy" and "St. Jerome." Following this vision come earthly honors. The sketch closes with the words:

> "Der Traum der Wirklichkeit ist flüchtiger Dunst,—
> Und ewig wahr bleibt nur der Traum der Kunst."[165]

"Die Epigonen" (1835) is a culture novel, portraying the condition of Germany from 1820 to 1830. This work is Immermann's contribution to that whole series of novels that followed in the wake of "Wilhelm Meister," the work from which the German romanticists determined their idea of a novel.[166] Tieck, Friedrich Schlegel, Dorothea Schlegel, Novalis, Clemens Brentano and Eichendorff were Immermann's predecessors in this sort of productions.[167] "Das Tagebuch" (September, 1836, to February, 1837) also received especial attention from the romanticists. Any sort of poet would be inclined to keep a diary, but those of the romanticists were unique. Novalis dated his from the death of Sophie von Kühn, his mystic bride.[168] Novalis' entire journal is full of descriptions of moods, and thoughts, and accounts of what he has read rather than real events. Immermann likewise discusses these and literature and art.

"Münchhausen" (1840) is Immermann's "Don Quixote," the poetization of a romantic character. To be sure the work pictures the dubious condition of Germany from, approximately, 1830 to 1840, but the embryo is to be sought in the character of K.F.H., Baron von Münchhausen (1720–1797) with his adventuresome life, his expeditions against the Turks as well as his private escapades.[169]

[165] Cf. XIX, *227*.

[166] Cf. *Goethes W. M. und die ästhetische Doktrin der älteren Romantik* von Heinrich Prodnigg.

[167] Cf. *Der Einfluss W. M.'s auf den Roman der Romantiker*, J. O. E. Donner.

[168] Cf. Novalis *Schriften* (Heilborn edition, Berlin, 1901) the diary begins: "Tennstedt, 18. April, den 31sten nach Sophiens Tode."

[169] Cf. *Ueber Immermann's "Münchhausen und Goethe und Fürst Pückler-Muskau*, eine Studie von Franz Sintenis, who traces "M." to the personality of H. L. H. Fürst Pückler-Muskau (1785–1871); the ascription only adds weight to the statement that Immermann was here poetizing a romantic character.

And finally, "Düsseldorfer Anfänge" (1840), one of Immermann's most valuable works, is his participation in romantic criticism as practiced especially by the Schlegels, Eichendorff and Heine, and others. Immermann has here established his fame as an appreciative student of romantic literature. In this work of 210 pages Arndt, Aristophanes, Bürger, Calderon, the Eddas, Görres, Goethe, Grabbe, Halm, Herder, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Heine, Kleist, Kotzebue, Lessing, Platen, Rückert, Schiller, Shakespeare, Schenkendorf, Tieck, Uhland and various stars of lesser magnitude receive judicial comment.

Immermann said (April 30, 1839) "all my writings are simply impressions of that which I have experienced in my soul."[170] Goethe said about the same thing in "Dichtung und Wahrheit."[171] The great extent to which a source or origin can be found for the most important works of Immermann would make it seem that his are not so wholly "impressions of personal experiences" as he himself seemed to think. But Goethe said also in his conversations with Eckermann: "We are always talking about originality; but what is originality? As soon as we are born the world begins to exert a definite influence upon us, and this never ceases. What can we call our own, except energy, strength and will? If I could enumerate everything that I owe to great predecessors and contemporaries, there would not be much left to call my own."[172] There is nothing contradictory about these two statements, nor does either conflict with the meaning of the motto of this chapter. One can "experience" a bit of literature just as well as an actual event.[173] It is in this way that Immermann's "confession" must be interpreted. It is this interpretation that shows that the embryo, if not the body, of his important works is to be sought in the lives, customs, creations and sources of the regular romanticists.

[170] Cf. P. II, *271*.

[171] Cf. D. u. W., Pt. II, Book 7. "All of my works that have become known are simply fragments of one great confession."

[172] Cf. *Gespräche,* May 12, 1825.

[173] Cf. Ludwig Tieck's *Genoveva,* based directly on the old Volksbuch, yet Tieck said of this work: "dass es gar nicht gemacht, sondern geworden sei" (cf. *Ranftl,* p. V).

CHAPTER III

Romantic Contents: (1) Poetry, (2) Philosophy, (3) Religion, (4) Mysticism, (5) Miscellaneous

Meine Erklärung des Wortes "Romantisch" kann ich Dir nicht schicken, weil sie hundertfünfundzwanzig Bogen lang ist.—Fr. Schlegel to A. W. Schlegel.

Aber was ist das Romantische anders als ein Sehnen nach dem Unendlichen, das unaufhaltsam forttreibt und jede selbsterbaute Schranke sofort wieder herunterreisst.—Henrich Steffens.

The German romanticists looked upon literature as a sort of crucible in which all possible creations of the mind and imagination were to be amalgamated. Art, love, nature, fancy, even science, religion and politics were to be cast in the same poetic mould, and reconciled. This was their scheme. It was reserved for romantic satire and irony later to laugh at the idea of executing it. And however broad the original programme of these enthusiasts may have been, all romantic literature can be discussed, from the standpoint of content, under just four heads: poetry, philosophy, religion and mysticism. The first three are fairly independent, the fourth results from a blending of the first three.[1]

Poetry is literature for literature's sake. Eichendorff referred[2] to youth as the "poetry of life." Youth is life for life's sake. Poetry has never been in need of defense, not even by Aristotle, Horace, Sidney, Temple, Shelley,[3] Peacock or Fr. Schlegel. Yet one of the best things the latter ever did was his "Gespräch über die Poesie."[4] It was Tieck in

[1] Cf. Fr. Schlegel, *Jugendschriften*, Minor, II, p. 220, Athenäum Fragment, 116. Cf. Solger's *Nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel*, Vol. I, p. 689.

[2] Cf. D. N. L., 146. Bd. II, p. 60.

[3] Cf. Shelley's *Defense of Poetry*, ed. by A. S. Cook, Boston, 1891.

[4] Cf. Fr. Schlegel, *Jugendschriften*, Minor, II, pp. 338–385.

"Kaiser Octavian,"[5] however, who gave the most complete picture of romantic poetry, as follows: With the introduction of Christianity, all the old gods passed away, except Venus, who betook herself to a dark, lonely forest. Here, disguised as a woman pilgrim, she met a hermit who wooed and won her. In course of time a child, Love, was born to them. Separated from her wily mother, Love lived on manna, until grown, when she married Faith. The union was divinely happy. The two wandered through the world, Love, like the rays of the sun, Faith, like the beams of the moon. They created a new life, a new language for man. They begat Poetry, the herald, the guardian, the protector, the king of joy and pleasure. Fond of the chase, Poetry rides a great white charger. Her retinue is Valor, Jest, Faith and Love. Jest accompanies Love, the mother, while Valor is the page of Faith, the father. Poetry is precocious and whimsical; it is for this reason that her own parents make up part of her retinue. Though envied or forsaken by all others, Poetry will remain as sacred to the poet as the temple to the priest.

Such is Tieck's picture of romantic poetry. The most "poetic" passages in Immermann's writings harmonize conspicuously with this literary formula.

The first of these is in "Das Thal von Ronceval." The general indebtedness of this drama to Tieck's "Octavian" is seen in the extreme similarity of the themes; the conflict between Occidentals and Orientals, as it centres, in Tieck,[6] around Marcebille, der Sultan von Babylon, Golimbra and Florens, and in Immermann, respectively, around Zoraide, Marsilias, Ferragus and Roland. In both dramas a Moorish woman forsakes her father and the Moorish lover he had destined for her and marries a Christian. The passage in question deals with the love, conversion and baptism of Zoraide.[7]

[5] Cf. *Kaiser Octavian*, Prolog; *Der Aufzug der Romanze, Tieck's Schriften*, Bd. I, pp. 5–33. Cf. also p. xxxviii.: "Es war im Deutschland vom Charakter des Romantischen so viel die Rede gewesen, versuchte ich es in diesem Mährchen zugleich meine Ansicht der romantischen Poesie allegorisch, lyrisch und dramatisch nieder zu legen."

[6] Cf. Tieck's *Schriften*, Bd. I, p. 170.

[7] Cf. XVI, pp. 83–89; act IV, scene 3. Heine was lavish in his praise of this scene, claiming that it moved him to tears when he read it, and

She speaks the flowery language of the Orient, with a goodly number of anachronistic classicisms. Roland is a typical medieval Christian knight, faithful, courageous, devout and ingenuous, with a touch of secretive fatalism.[8] It is a scene of romantic love and faith. Valor is also present. Zoraide pictures to Roland how they can leave the dust and din of strife and struggle and wander unmolested on narrow paths through flower groves and deep dark dells till they come to the sacred sea. There a lone boat lies ready. She will spread her blue veil as a sail, and they will play with wind and wave till they come to the idyllic island of Mallorka. There they will live in olive groves surrounded by rose hedges, protected by vines and massive elms. At night the stars, the holy eyes of Heaven, will watch over the sleep of happy lovers. But Roland will not. This would be treason to the cause he loves. And Zoraide can not give up the gods of her father. So they part; but not until she has given him a rose, and he her a cross. In the meantime a hermit priest explains to her the meaning of Christian love. And now she loves as she never loved before. And she is baptized and is called Maria, and becomes the bride of Roland. It is a poetic scene. And while it would be of only third-rate merit in the works of a first-rate poet, it is first-rate poetry in the works of a third-rate poet. The parallel to Zoraide is Roxelane in "Kaiser Friedrich II."[9] She, too, is poetic, but from a different standpoint; she gives a poetic tone to the entire poem, Zoraide poetizes one particular scene. With Roxelane it is extenuated poetry, with Zoraide it is sublimated poetry.

A similar scene is found in "Petrarca." It is the legend of the lily and the swan, by means of which Petrarch portrays to Laura the pangs he is suffering as a result of forbidden, though not wholly unrequited love.[10] A long while ago, in the lofty land of souls, among the gods, in the time of the gods,

that there was a striking similarity in it to one in his *Almansor*. Cf. *Heine-Briefe*, hrsg. von Hans Daffis, Bd. I, p. 81.

[8] Cf. Deetjen: *Immermanns Jugenddramen*, p. 39.

[9] Cf. XVII, p. 197, and elsewhere in this drama.

[10] Cf. XVI, pp. 272–274; the scene is the meadow on the Sorgue. The scenes are not numbered. Act III.

there lived two pure spirits, who refreshed themselves by a drop of light, bathed in a ray of beauty, and warmed their bodies by a breath of love. Then there came a mighty change in the universe. The two spirits were separated and obliged to begin a new existence. She began as a lily, he as a swan. She, growing wild by a fishpond, was found by a gardner and transplanted to his private garden, where she lived in a luxurious prison. He swam over all the seas in search of her. Finally he found her, but she was forbidden him, she was the property of another. The swan's song of approaching death brings dewy tears from the lily's chalice. If the entire scene is not romantically poetic, it is because it is so conventional. It reads almost like stereotyped "poetry."

The next poetic scene is in "Tulifäntchen."[11] Here it is poetic fancy. It has been revealed to the poet in a dream how clouds are made. They are not the vapid vapors sucked from vulgar water by the heat of the sun; they are the children of sighs. The sighs of children produce the tiny fleecy clouds shaped and colored like the pearls. The sighs of the coquette, of the vain one now forsaken, beget those long drawn streaks that clumsily becloud the sky and seem to say: we know not what we want nor what we mean. From the sighs of oppressed innocence come black storm clouds, and from those brought on by worry over the mean things of life, the heavy gray rain clouds. But away with all such! Let us betake ourselves to those beautiful princesses of the air, those clouds bordered by the moon, or embroidered by the sun with purple roses, holding, as they do, sweet secret discourse with the sky. These are the sighs of virgins, frightened at the reflection of their own beauty in the fountain, the sighs of lofty women that inspire heroism, the sighs of poets over sorrows too sacred to commit to song. It is on this sort of clouds that the good fay spirits away the tiny hero.[12]

[11] Cf. XIII, 104–107.

[12] Cf. Richard Meyer *Tulifäntchen*, p. 82. Meyer thinks that Immermann could not have been influenced by Aristophanes *Clouds*, since, according to Putlitz (II, 308), Immermann did not become specially interested in Aristophanes till the Droysen translation (1839). The translation of J. H. Voss, however, appeared at Braunschweig in 1821. Immermann owned

And following close on this is another poetic scene, one of medieval love in "Merlin."[13] Lanzelot, in compensation for his rescue of Ginevra from Klingsor's dwarf, in the forest of Dioflee is made the twelfth knight at Arthur's court. Then Lanzelot loves Ginevra. But she is Arthur's. But Arthur is not so jealous as Marke. And from Ginevra's veil he makes a sash for Lanzelot, and then, under the guard of honor, bids him revel in the graces of his queen. And then the poetry of it. Again it is not unrequited but forbidden love. Soloman bound the spirits with seven seals, but Lanzelot's bonds are stronger. He can only, troubadour-like, express his love to hill and flower and wave, and stone and star. And Ginevra says: that woman's beauty is like precious wine, and man's soul a golden goblet. And the sparkling wine is truly resplendent only when seen in a chalice of gold. Woman's love is only love when in the soul of man. And Lanzelot will offer his soul to Ginevra as to a delicate vine, a child of spring, putting forth in dewy darkness the purple buds of sweet red kisses. And she will cling to him as to a gigantic oak. And her breath of love and dew of tears will be seen in the rustling of the leaves. And Lanzelot says forbidden love is but a gruesome fate. And Ginevra says our love is therefore love. It is a literary passage, woven into this philosophic poem for literature's sake. And it is romanticism.

Then a passage of romantic imagination in "Münchhausen."[14] It is entitled "Die Wunder im Spessart" with the

the complete work (cf. *Catalog*, Nos. 339 to 341). The three main motives: Clouds formed from "der Denkkraft feucht Gedünst" (cf. Voss. Bd. I, 214), their position as "Herrinnen der Luft," and their services by way of spiriting someone away, Socrates-Tulifäntchen, could have been taken from Aristophanes. It is here, as so often with Immermann, impossible to say, dogmatically, whether he "borrowed" or not.

[13] Cf. XV, 119–120.

[14] Cf. The difference made here between romantic "fancy" as in the "Tulifäntchen" scene and romantic "imagination" is that made by Wordsworth in his poems classified in this way. Under both headings Wordsworth has written a poem to the skylark. In the fancy poem, the poet would lift himself to the clouds, to the skylark's "banqueting place in the sky." In the imagination poem, the poet would bring the skylark down to the earth "where cares abound." Fancy is the L'Allegro, imagination the Il Penseroso of poetic genius.

subtitle "Waldmärchen."[15] It is a highly imaginative fairy tale of love, set in nature, told in artistic prose, flavored with a strong element of the miraculous, and replete with individual romantic devices. The characters are a knight, his page, a wandering scholar, and an enchanted princess. Albertus Magnus is glorified and Gottfried von Strassburg is revered.

Lisbeth and Oswald vie with each other in praise of the forest, where the breeze from the trees is like the breath of God, where every blade of grass is bedecked with a thousand pearls, where one can be alone and yet without fear, where one can run and not grow weary, where the woodsman's ax strikes and strikes, the clock of the forest, announcing that time even there is passing and we note it not except by its passing, where bird and beast and man and plant goes each its several way and the forest remains forever the gallery of God. It is in such a forest that the story takes place with which Oswald delights Lisbeth. The fair Doralice had wandered into its deepest, darkest parts to escape the purposes of Count Archimbald, her guardian. Suddenly she heard a spoken word. The song of the nightingale was rough and the rolling of the thunder was but a whisper in comparison. And she fell into a deep enchanted sleep. The scholar from the West tried to remove the veil from nature—he tempted nature. He tried to awaken the Princess by magic incantations. He speaks the magic word taught him by his old master who understood the mysteries of nature. His wand is a branch of the yew tree. And for all his supernatural efforts he receives death. The knight from the East kisses her a natural kiss of love and thereby wakens, woos and wins her.

And finally, we have "Die Jagd"[16] in "Tristan." It is a

[15] Cf. IV, 74–96.

[16] Cf. XIII, 50–77. That this passage is merely an attempt to give a really poetic account of the chase is shown by the fact that 27 pages are devoted to it, and the only facts that we gather from the episode are that Tristan is made master of the chase at Marke's court. In the *Gassenhauer* (cf. pp. 71–73) which Tristan sings, and which cannot be called "poetry" in the present sense, Tristan does tell of his abduction by the Norman merchants, but this is a small part of the entire episode. In this connection it might be added that it is not without significance that one seeks in vain for purple patches among Immermann's isolated lyrics.

romantic chase. The real hero is the deer, until Tristan appears. Immermann was fond of poetizing the chase. This is his most poetic effort, woven in here, as is the case with all these passages, as a sort of poetic intermezzo, for literature's sake.

By the "philosophy" of a German romanticist is meant his poetic attitude toward nature. And this is necessarily so, because the period of German literature bounded by the birth of Lessing (1729) and the death of Heine (1856) is analogous, in broad outline, to the period of German philosophy that falls between the birth of Kant (1724) and the death of Schopenhauer (1860). In each, from the standpoint of romantic literature or philosophy, there are five rather clearly defined stages of development: Lessing's rationalism, Herder's universal poetry, Tieck's phantastic romanticism, Eichendorff's healthy romanticism and Heine's romantic irony and pessimism mark the five prominent stages in the literature of the century. Kant's reason, Fichte's egoism, Schelling's nature, Hegel's absolutism and Schopenhauer's will mark the five prominent stages in the philosophy of the century.[17] The most exact analogy is found between Schelling and Tieck. The orthodox romanticists were all nature-philosophers; but Tieck was the poet of nature while Schelling was the philosopher of nature. At the same time, there was some of the philosopher in Tieck and much of the poet in Schelling. They represent the acme of nature-worship. Schelling's "Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Natur" appeared 1797, his "Von der Weltseele" 1798, his "Entwurf eines Systems der Naturphilosophie" 1799, and his "System des transzendentalen Idealismus" 1800. The cardinal theses of his nature-philosophy are, nature is visible mind (Geist), mind invisible nature. Nature and mind are as inseparable as body and soul. The laws of mind are laws of nature; the revelations of mind are incidents of nature. Nature is the unity of opposing powers.[18] And so, to deter-

[17] Cf. Royce: *Spirit of Modern Philosophy*, pp. 101–264.

[18] Cf. Noack: *Schelling und die Philosophie der Romantik*, Bd. I, pp. 201–306.

mine Immermann's "romantic philosophy" is to determine his attitude toward nature.[19] What was this?

Immermann was impressed by nature more than he was influenced by it. His "Travels," "Diary" and "Memoirs" abound in interesting observations on nature, its beauty, its purposes, its influence on man, its relation to God. But his epic writings, and especially his dramas and lyrics, do not show a correspondingly large amount of nature-sense. He theorized on nature in his works of applied literature without, to any striking degree, attempting to practice his theories in his works of pure literature. It is here as elsewhere with the prevailing tendencies. His contemporaries made much of nature. He tried, then, likewise to draw from this inexhaustible source, and he occasionally succeeded. But his appeal was frequently not entirely honest and the response was accordingly artificial. In 1837, he visited the Fichtelgebirge. He writes: "Tieck says the region around Burg Berneck made a peculiar, tragic impression on him. I have had no such feeling. Perhaps Tieck saw it in a particular mood, with a special sort of illumination, upon which much depends." Immermann seems here to have been studying nature in order to verify the report of another, rather than communing with nature because he loved her. He returned to nature, again and again, just as one might go to a great gallery, not to study art in all its phases,

[19] It is no wonder that the romanticists were nature-philosophers, when we recall the great names that glorified science during and preceding Schelling's appearance in the romantic arena. His dates (1775–1854) coincide almost to a year with those of Tieck (1773–1853). Between the birth of Cavendish (1731) and the death of Ritter (1869) these and the following made epoch-making scientific discoveries: Lavoisier, Priestley, Lichtenberg, Volta, Werner, Alex. v. Humboldt, L. v. Buch, Baader, Steffens, Schubert, Cuvier, John Brown, Blumenbach and Forster. (cf. Noack, Vol. I, pp. 201-219). Also, Fichte's *Wissenschaftslehre* (1794), Herder's *Gespräche über das System Spinozas* (1787), Goethe's *Optische Vorträge* (1791–1792), *Metamorphose der Pflanzen* (1790) and Schiller's theosophic writings (1786) all made an impression on Schelling's receptive mind. To determine, however, Immermann's "philosophy" is certainly not to attempt to prove that he was a direct disciple of Schelling. This much can be said: Immermann had but little sympathy with Fichte's philosophy (cf. XVIII, 181), at least with the purely speculative phase of it. Of Schelling, Immerman only says: "Bei S. sieht man Analogien der rom. Philosophie mit rom. Schicksalen." (XVIII, 192.)

but because of a fondness for a few particular creations. It is the limitations of Immermann's nature-sense that make it noteworthy and at the same time possible of brief treatment.[20] And strange as the collection may sound, these are the pictures that he studied, over and over: autumn, night and darkness, caverns and abysses, forests, waving grain-fields, running brooks, microscopic studies of plants and animals, moss and many colored views. He had an analytic rather than synthetic appreciation of nature, his own words to the contrary notwithstanding. He saw the small in nature and not the large. Immermann wrote in 1831:[21] "The world of people is my world. Just as I am in many respects old Franconian, so do I likewise have some of the now almost unknown feeling of the Cinquecentos. The group is to me the important thing; stream, rock, forest, these I consider secondary. To rave over this sort of thing betrays a kind of hysteria and weakness." It can not be said that Immermann ever betrayed this weakness born of visionary enthusiasm over nature. But at the same time it can not be said that he ever attempted a great broad group-view of mountain, sea, or sky, or earth. He has, however, attempted many small ones.

He appreciated nature primarily only in so far as it was inseparably connected with some form of human activity. He went (1832) to Wetzlar to read "Werther" "on the spot." He writes:[22] "The most remarkable thing about this book is its interweaving of the human heart with nature; for if I were to read it over a hundred times, I could not say whether spring made Werther's heart so warm and winter it so cold, or whether his heart made the flowers of spring so fragrant and the gloom of winter so intense." In 1833 he went to Tyrol. He writes:[23] "Other people talk so much about the religious sensations with which nature inspires them. I have never had this sort of feeling. Nature's infinite conglomeration simply gives me a certain sensual-ethical pleasure or it fills me with a

[20] In this section, for obvious reasons, conclusions and not arguments must suffice, however tempting it may be to quote by way of corroboration or to compile by way of showing that a given view is not the expression of a passing mood but of a deep rooted and oft recurring sensation.

[21] Cf. X, 14. [22] Cf. X, 265. [23] Cf. X, 248.

sort of magic awe. I get nearer to God only in history, in things moral, and in the love which I cherish toward others or which they show toward me." He said[24] that if nature was to charm him, there must be a happy variety and a character of cheerful human presence. The mountain must not be without the forest. He saw a sunset in the Alps, and when he looked at the snow-capped peaks as the sun went down behind them he said to himself:[25] "There is the God of Spinoza; an omnipresent, everlasting and omnipotent being. Man is born to love and to hate. But what is man compared with the Alps? And yet, the man born in the Alps is stronger than the man born in the plain." These and similar expressions show that Immermann was interested in nature. His difficulty lay in trying to see in nature what others saw in it. He is not quite true to himself. When he assures us that he finds God more easily elsewhere than in nature, he is only betraying the fact that his soul was not made of the same stuff as was that of his great prototype, Goethe. As soon as he let himself go and became unconscious, then he showed the real qualities of his nature-sense. He described the views and scenery around Ahrweiler and then said:[26] "Here would be a good place to write the poem of 'Tristan und Isolde.'"

These are some of his figures. He was continually crying out against "das grelle Tageslicht" and "des Lichts Erkühnen." Evening was his favorite time of day,[27] autumn his favorite season; the season of many colors and of harvest. He writes (1836): "My cheerful autumn mood, which always forms an agreeable contrast to my irritability in spring and my depression in summer, had returned and made me see the world in a new light."[28] Again, he envies the plants and trees because spring gives them buds and summer flowers and autumn rocks them to sleep for a while before they go into the season of cold and snow. But man has no such resting season. He goes direct from summer to winter.[29] Again, he tells how he often sits and listens to nature in the autumn when its life

[24] Cf. P. I, 353. [25] Cf. X, 248. [26] Cf. X, 257.
[27] Cf. VII, 120. [28] Cf. P. II, 124–125. [29] Cf. V, 9.

especially appeals to him.[30] When nature was too bright it seemed to mock him. The tournament[31] in "Tristan" takes place in spring, giving him a good opportunity to describe the season. But one can see that he is not in sympathy with it. He is continually referring to the "fandango of nature," the "roguish irony of nature" at this time of the year. One of the best pictures in the entire poem is the one that centres around the stanza beginning "Ans Fenster setzte Marke sich."[32] His works are also not without the conventional attitude toward autumn. Friedrich II says:[33]

> Thaddäus todt!—Mein ältester Freund dahin!—
> Kommt nun der Herbst und fallen meine Blätter?

Aside from the word "Moos," the most common words in Immermann's writings are "Höhle," "Abgrund," "finster," "dunkel" and "schwarz." His favorite color was not the romantic blue, but black. Out of darkness he made a sort of poetic cult. Merlin says:[34]

> "Vor meinem Geist steht alles klar und hart;
> Ich schmachte nach den Finsternissen!"

Hermann longs[35] for happy darkness and hopeful night instead of the cold, clear, light of reason and experience. In "Düsseldorfer Anfänge" there is a blue domino, Schnaase, a red one, Uechtritz, and a black one, Immermann. A common device is to have a fallen hero pray that night may descend and cover his past. In "Ronceval," which is essentially a night drama, Ganelon, when he sees the awful outcome of his own treachery, says:[36]

> Nacht, steig herunter
> Und ende nicht! Es stehet schlimm mit uns,
> Wenn wir, des Tages Kinder, scheun den Tag;
> Fast besser wär' es dann, sich selbst in Nacht
> Zu betten und von Tage abzuschneiden!

When Manfred sees that his case with Roxelane is hopeless, he says:[37]

[30] Cf. P. II, 46.
[31] Cf. XV, 26–37.
[32] Cf. XIII, 91.
[33] Cf. XVII, 220.
[34] Cf. XV, 124.
[35] Cf. V, 9.
[36] Cf. XVI, 95.
[37] Cf. XVII, 216.

So fallt, Ihr Sterne, von dem Himmel nieder!
Verschwinde, Mond! Tauch in den Abgrund, Sonne!
Ich fluche Dir, o Tag! Nacht soll es sein!

When Jeanneton sees how false Petrarca has played her, she says:[38]

Ihr Wolken, steiget nieder, decket mich
Wie ein Gebirge, dass er mich nicht finde!

Sidonie, in "Der Carneval und die Somnambule" says:[39] "I am afraid of daylight; midnight is my friend. God's eye shines most brightly through darkness." And so examples could be continued from every work and under all sorts of circumstances.[40] To Immermann the dark was poetic.

Closely allied to this poetization of the dark is Immermann's abnormal fondness for caves and abysses. They play a large rôle in the dramas "Periander" and "Ghismonda." A poetic adaptation of the theme is in the dedication to "Merlin." Following the jolly, jesting rose the poet is led to a strange place:[41]

Die Schwelle, sanft gebreitet,
Lag unter hoher Pforte,
Die in ein Innres leitet',
Aus dem ein Glanz fiel nach dem äussern Orte,
Ich ahnt' in diesem Bau, begrünt von Moose,
Uralter Schöpfung Worte.

It is here that the poet meets the spirits of Schnaase, Dante, Novalis and Wolfram von Eschenbach. A typical description of caves is that found in "Fränkische Reise."[42] He tells how he enjoyed the peculiar feeling of infinite loneliness in these subterranean vaults filled with documents that tell the history of the creation of the world. Such places, he says, must have been the work-shop of the "mothers" about whom Plutarch has so much to say, and of whom Goethe speaks in the second part of "Faust." Immermann has treated the abyss with

[38] Cf. XVI, 269.

[39] Cf. VIII, 120.

[40] Immermann also formed some unusual compounds from the adjective "black": kohlpechschwarz, der finstre Schnitter, dunkles Blut, dunkle Klage, schwarze Thaten, schwarzes Wort, der dunkle Trieb, finstre Kunde, dunkles Feuer, schwarzer Saat.

[41] Cf. XV, 53–58.

[42] Cf. XX, 41–51.

equal frequency and poetic feeling. He says of the waves in "Tristan":[43]

> Dis Wellen sind wie Lüfte grüne,
> Durchsichtig ob des Abgrunds Bühne.

Immermann shows himself most a romanticist in the treatment of the forest. "Das Thal von Ronceval," "Edwin" and "Merlin" are forest dramas. "Epigonen" and the idyllic part of "Münchhausen" are largely forest novels, and "Die Papierfenster" is wholly so. If there were any need of seeking for positive proof that Immermann was a romanticist after 1830, one could find it in the treatment of the forest in "Oberhof." The introduction to the "Waldmärchen" is a good example of his love of the forest. And this scene, located in the Spessart, finds a repetition in Immermann's travels through this same region.[44] In "Der Oberhof,"[45] the wild huntsman longs to walk on unknown paths that will lead him deeper and deeper into the depths of the forest, where he can dip his soul into the cool darkness of the trees and refresh his mind amid the moss covered rocks and bubbling fountains and gigantic oaks. In "Die Papierfenster" the picture of nature is strong, but negative. As long as Friedrich had had hope of winning Coelestine, he drank the wine of joy from nature's thousand beakers. But now, when he has no hope, he speaks to nature, but it is deaf to his appeals.

The most instructive, if not the most poetic feature of Immermann's nature-sense is his detailed exactness, his almost microscopic observation of life in nature. To read his works is to take a course in German fauna and flora. The embryo of this characteristic is to be found, possibly, in his early training. Friedrich says:[46] "I could reel off all the names of all the

[43] Cf. XIII, 242.

[44] Cf. XX, 14–18.

[45] Cf. I, 196–206. The subtitle of the chapter (no. 11) is *Die fremde Blume und das schöne Mädchen.* The entire chapter, excepting for some political views, is a revelation of romantic instincts. It is here that the hero lets his own red blood flow into the running brook as he takes a solemn oath. He was "intoxicated with the magic of nature" (cf. I, 197).

[46] Cf. VIII, 24; *Die Papierfenster.* Friedrich is Immermann. And later, when Friedrich's place has been taken by Walther, the aunt tells how much more interesting it was to hear him discuss nature. "He leads us into the circle of Humboldt" (IX, 34).

plants according to Linné, but when alone, in the open forest, I could scarcely distinguish a black thorn from an oak." A common device is to bring in close connection plants of different and contrasting kinds. In "Tristan," he tells[47] us that just as prince and pauper are often to be found side by side, so does the gardner (der kräuterkundige Mann) place together lily and cactus, rhubarb and rose, poppy and mimosa, wormwood and sugar, palm and cabbage.[48]

And closely allied to this is Immermann's poetization of moss. It is to him as the blue flower to Novalis. A significant description of moss is found in his essay on the family.[49] The moss-theme runs through all his works,[50] used now literally, now figuratively, now to form a couch for a sleeping Amanda,[51] now to stop the wound of a bleeding Hermann.[52] He finds a nest of humble-bees in a tuft of moss and makes a pilgrimage to this spot day by day, until, to his great regret, the bees transferred their dwelling place.[53] And finally with this, as with "black," he writes[54] a poetic fairy-tale on moss in his last work, "Düsseldorfer Anfänge." When God had made the earth, he had some material left over. He called the gods together to ask what should be done with this remnant. Some advised this, some that. But with all the advice God was dissatisfied. So he scattered the material broadcast over the earth, giving us surplus, chance. Moss is the excess of the plant-world. We find it everywhere. There is color-moss and thought-moss. Everyone has moss in his head, and when it comes to light, it does so in the form of delicate plays of the

[47] Cf. XIII, 207. *Die Meerfahrt.*

[48] In the chapter of *Tristan* entitled *Mittagszauber* there follow in rapid succession: Mistel, Korn, Birke, Tanne, Eiche, die blaue Blume, Roggen, Kletten, Quecken, Saffran, Palme, Granit, Haide (XIII, 185ff). In *Münchhausen*, one chapter produces: Kuhe, gelbes Rösslein, schwarzer Rappe, Schmetterling, Hirschkäfer, Bunspecht, Zaunkönig, Finke, Pfau, Kohlmeise, Eichhorn, Elster, Wildschwein, Eidechse, Kanker, Forelle, Schmerle, Fliege, Mucke, Schuhu, Nachtigall, and then, as if he himself were tired of this classifying, Gewürm and Gekäfer (IV, 74–96).

[49] Cf. XVIII, 80–81.

[50] For other uses of moss, cf. II, 52, 63, 64, 68, 69, 71, 73, 121; XV, 56, 69, 80, 144, 91; XVIII, 30, 46, 58, 80, 131; XX, 48, 49, 58, 64, 135.

[51] Cf. XIV, 164.

[52] Cf. V, 171.

[53] Cf. XIX, 110.

[54] Cf. XX, 135–140.

imagination. Youth is the budding time, and men are differentiated from each other by the moss in their heads and by the way in which they make use of it.

> Und wenn es sich trifft,
> Und wenn es sich schickt,
> So wird er ein Dichter.[55]

In conclusion: Immermann had an irregular rather than a sustained nature-sense such as was possessed by Heine, Tieck, Novalis or Brentano. He either poetized a hobby or conventionalized opportune situations. He was fond of waving grain-fields and running brooks. But from the days of the Psalmist all poets have made much of these. He did not have a poetic appreciation of the large outlook. In 1834, he saw, for the first time, the ocean at Scheveningen. It made a wonderful impression on him, calling to mind the activity of Peter the Great.[56] Yet in "Alexis," where a splendid opportunity was offered for a great picture of the sea,[57] we do not detect the poetization of the sea's impression. In "Tristan" we get a good picture of the sea only in the chapter "Cornwall,"[58] and here because it is at night. And here, we get a better picture of night on the sea than the sea by night. Throughout his dramas, nature is used somewhat artificially or conventionally. In all "Alexis" there is scarcely one romantic nature passage; there is a good picture of the heath,[59] the only one in his writings. The best appreciation of nature in his lyrics is found in the poems "Wonne und Wehmuth" and "Frühlings-Capriccio."[60] Here the flowers speak and weep

[55] Cf. Faust, I, 2458–2460.

[56] Cf. P. II, 75–77.

[57] Cf. *Die Bojaren*, Act III, Scenes 4–6.

[58] Cf. XIII, 235ff.

[59] Cf. XV, 361–366.

[60] Cf. XI, 48–76, and XI, 339–357. When Immermann's flowers listen, one has the feeling that there is something materialistic, almost humorous about it. He tells (cf. XX, 142) how the chestnut trees and the waves of the Rhine and the nightingales listened to the conversations carried on by himself and Schadow on Purgatory and Hagiology! But this is not material for nightingales. And in "K. F. II." (cf. XVII, 196–7), the Emperor takes Roxelane into his tent and all nature listens to their wooings. But one's poetic sense is aggrieved by the verse: "Vom Baume horcht erweckt der Papagei!"

and rejoice. Man is compared to the stars and plants. The realm of water is poetized, but all so traditionally. Immermann himself wrote:

> " Die säuselnden Lüfte, die murmelnden Wellen,
> Die grünenden Plätze, beblümeten Stellen,
> Dis hüpfenden Lämmer, die gleitenden Schwingen
> Der Schwalben, das zärtliche Nachtigallsingen,
> Du singst, was zum Ekel besungen schon war."—
> Ich kann ja nicht anders! Der Frühling der Wicht,
> Bringt immer aufs Neue die alte Geschicht.'

The German romanticists were intensely interested in religion, because, from their standpoint, it is infinitely comprehensive and incapable of any sort of delimitation.[61] Protestantism was unsympathetic to them because of it rationalism was born. That they took kindly to Catholicism can be shown not only by their outward actions, but also by just four works: Novalis' " Christenheit," Tieck's " Sternbald," Wackenroder's " Herzensergiessungen " and Wilhelm Schlegel's " Geistliche Gemählde."[62] Immermann might be described as a supercreedal Protestant. That he was interested in Catholicism is shown by his frequent discussions of it.[63] In " Andreas Hofer,"[64] however, a Catholic priest is a traitor who wrecks the noble plans of a noble hero. But in " Kaiser Friedrich II," Catholicism, from the viewpoint of a romanticist, comes to its own.

There are fifteen name characters; seven, headed by Friedrich II, belong to the Ghibelline faction, seven, headed by

[61] That religion included everything, from the romanticists' viewpoint, or that everything sprang from religion, is proved by such a work as *Religion, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Staat in ihren gegenseitigen Verhältnissen betrachtet* von Johann Jacob Wagner (1819). Wagner wrote the book under direct romantic influence, and the title is a true index of the content.

[62] Eleven sonnets centring around the Virgin Mary. Yet Huch shows that W. Schlegel was of essentially Protestant nature (*Romantik*, I, 349).

[63] Cf. III, 195–197; V, 160–166; VI, 91; X, 29, 232, 259; XVIII, 73, 153, 204; XX, 5, 201, 205. P. I, 91. P. II, 85–86, 203, 214, 261.

[64] Cf. Donay; cf. Act V. Immermann's Catholicism grew noticeably in intensity after his coming to Düsseldorf (1827). The first version of *Hofer* (1826) makes of Donay a much more vicious character than the version of 1833.

Cardinal Octavian Ubaldini, belong to the Guelf faction, and one, Roxelane, the Kaiser's daughter by romantic love, dies in the Mohammedan faith. The drama is a glorification of Catholicism. At the beginning, the Kaiser feels that he has but one foe, the Papal party, and that this foe is scarcely worth serious consideration. Friedrich says[65] to the Cardinal: "Die Kaiserkrone

> Ist der Cäsaren Erb, und, wie Ihr wisst,
> Hatte der Cäsar Niemand über sich."

At the end of the third act the Emperor is so completely overcome by this one foe that he says[66] to himself: "Ich bin besiegt; es ziemt nicht mehr zu leben." He dies at the end of the fifth act comforted by the Archbishop of Palermo and buried by the Catholic Church.

The drama is dedicated to Wilhelm Schadow, the leader of the Catholic circle of artists in Düsseldorf, originally a Protestant, who, out of sincere conviction, had gone over to Catholicism. It was he who constantly aided Immermann in the working out of the drama.[67] And these discussions gave occasion for complete interchange of ideas on Protestantism and Catholicism, Immermann, for argument's sake, taking the side of Protestantism. He gives here an ideal picture of Catholicism, something after the fashion of that in Novalis' "Christenheit." He believed in a Church universal. He objected to Protestantism on the ground that it was too strongly divided between Separatism and Indifferentism.[68] The drama attacks the greed[69] of the Catholic church and poetizes its glory.[70] Friedrich's religion as given in drama[71] or source,[72] was a sort of romantic pantheism that knows no pietism. The same could be said, broadly speaking, of Immermann. He has here dramatized the Church of the Pope as an institution on earth that derives its power from Heaven and through which alone all other earthly institutions must obtain Heaven's favor.

[65] Cf. XVII, 182.
[66] Cf. XVII, 240.
[67] Cf. P. I, 189.
[68] Cf. P. I, 181.
[69] Cf. Act III, scene 7.
[70] Cf. last seven scenes of Act V.
[71] Cf. XVII, 232.
[72] Cf. Raumer, *Ges. d. Hohenstaufen*, III, p. 424.

Friedrich's dramatic mistake lay in his belief that the crown takes precedence over the tiara.[73]

Mysticism, in literature, is intensified romanticism and results from a combination of poetry, nature and religion. Both mysticism and romanticism aim at God and nature as their highest goal, and both attempt to reach this goal through poetry. Mysticism teaches the animation of the world of nature, the mundanity of God and the divinity of the soul.[74] That mysticism exercised an extraordinary influence on romanticism is proved by the fact that it was the writings of Jacob Boehme that played such a large rôle in transforming Tieck from a rationalist to a romanticist.[75] A typical poetization of mysticism is Novalis' "Die Lehrlinge zu Sais." The romantic text-book on mysticism is Görres' "Christliche Mystik."[76] It is one thing, however, to set up a coherent presentation of mysticism in one given work, it is quite another to betray mystic influence in scattered passages. There is some mysticism in several of Immermann's works. The asceticism of Friedrich in "Die Papierfenster," the prophetic visions of the blind Eudoxia in "Alexis," the martyrological love of Theresia for Christ in "Die Verschollene." But the two works in which he shows himself a consistent disciple of mysticism, and on this account his two most noteworthy[77] productions, are his five millenarian sonnets and "Merlin." To take

[73] Cf. XVII, 182: Ich bin den Wolken nah' gezeugt, etc.

[74] Cf. Karl Joël: *Der Ursprung der Naturphilosophie aus dem Geiste der Mystik.* In his chapter on *Die Naturmystik der Renaissance,* p. 9ff., Joël points out the extreme significance of the fact that Luther, Copernicus and Columbus were contemporaries.

[75] Cf. Ederheimer: *J. Boehme u. d. Romantiker,* 1–13.

[76] Cf. *Die Christliche Mystik* von J. Görres, Regensburg, 1836. After defining mystician, Görres bases it on religion. (Book II, *Der religiöse und kirchliche Grund der Mystik,* pp. 167–308. Vol. 1.) He goes over the ground of the trinity, redemption, incarnation, resurrection, ascension, miracles, angels etc.

[77] Cf. These two works are called Immermann's "most noteworthy productions," because it is easy to see how he could be influenced to treat other phases of romanticism, phases that lie nearer the surface. But Immermann had a strong touch of realism in his poetic make-up, and when he sings of the coming of a new chiliastic Emperor, or of the mystic anti-Christ one wonders what could have influenced him in this direction.

"Merlin" first: Solger,[78] the aesthetician of romanticism, divides the symbolic epic into two classes, sacred and profane, or, respectively, mystic and tragic. As an example of the mystic, he cites the poems centring around the Holy Grail, as an example of the tragic, the Nibelungenlied. "Merlin" is speculative mysticism. It is a symbolic-allegoric book-drama, with a great variety of verse-forms, and a wholly improbable action. The hero is born in the third scene and becomes a man, not by gradual development, but by one act of his own will. The entire drama tells the story of how Merlin, by presumptuously declaring himself to be, as it were, the Christ, becomes the anti-Christ.[79] And wherein lies the mysticism? Görres defines mysticism[80] as the doing and affecting by means of a higher freedom, the seeing and understanding by means of a higher light. It remains, then, to point out the mysticism first in the action, then in the underlying idea.

There are the following mystic acts: the life of Placidus in the Oriental desert, the appearance of Satan to Candida, the birth of Merlin, the spiriting of Candida to Britain and her burial, the relation of Klingsor to Antinous, the gnostic snake (Ophiomorphos), the gods and the hamadryads, Merlin's discovery of the heavens to Satan, Niniana's conjury with the ruby ring, the downfall of Castel Merveil at the death of Klingsor, the eclipse of the sun at the behest of Merlin and the enchantment of Merlin.

The underlying idea centres about the hero. Who is Merlin?

> "Sterbliche Hülle vaterlosen Kindes,
> Die arme Waise Himmels und der Erden,
> Unsel' ges Fertigsein und Nimmerwerden,
> Vom weichen Oel der Schwäche nie gelindert,
> Von Liebe nicht befeu'rt, vom Hasse nicht gehindert."[81]

And when Placidus hears this answer to his question, he says "those are simply words with no meaning." And his

[78] Cf. K. W. F. Solger's *Vorlesungen über Aesthetik,* hrsg. von K. W. L. Heyse, p. 290ff.

[79] Cf. Titurell's speech, XV, 136–137.

[80] Cf. Görres: *Christliche Mystik,* Vol. 1, p. 1.

[81] Cf. XV, 80.

statement sounds accurate. "Merlin" is the tragedy of contradiction, or imperfection. Merlin's character represents the discord in man's soul that came about with the introduction of Christianity. His work is the futile attempt to overcome this discord. He is a mystic prophet, equipped with all powers of heaven, and earth. His mother is the purest of virgins, his father is Satan; not the hoofed and horned Devil of tradition, but the demiurgic author of the universe. Merlin soon becomes conscious of his illustrious parentage and he believes in heredity. Like an orthodox romanticist, he sets out to harmonize all the intellectually aristocratic pursuits of man. He, or the poet, tries to unify art, religion and philosophy. The drama consists of poetry, philosophy and prayer. The old romantic school was composed of two literary critics, two poets, one preacher and one philosopher. Merlin's failure in his attempt to reconcile God, nature and man does not make his effort less mystically romantic.[82] With one wave of his hand, he parts the clouds and says[83] to Satan:

> Sieh, mächtiger Gott in der Natur,
> Sieh droben die Natur in Gott.

But God was not to be,—would not be comprehended by Merlin. God is to be glorified but not glossed. And just as Merlin says:[84]

> Weil ich denn ganz mich an das All verschenkt,
> Hat sich das All in mich zurückgelenkt,
> Und in mir wachsen, welken, ruhn und schwanken
> Nicht meine, nein,—die grossen Weltgedanken,

and just as he declares himself to be the Paraclete, he is cast down lower than the beast of the field by Niniana, the symbol of frivolity. Restored to his normal, mortal state by the Demiurge, whom he has scorned, he believes himself utterly rejected of God, and yet he dies with the words of the Paternoster on his lips. The mysticism of the poem lies not so much in the symbolism of the Grail or the Round Table as in the

[82] Rudolf Gottschall: *Deut. Nationallitteratur,* says, in this connection, that *Merlin* is the Apotheosis of romantic irony (cf. I, 557).

[83] Cf. XV, 103.

[84] Cf. XV, 126.

poetization of thoughts[85] that, for any but a romanticist, lie too deep for poetry. The drama only emphasizes the charm of the infinite. Lohengrin says[86] to Parzival:

> Was wär' das Heil'ge, ständ' es zu erringen?
> Unendliches, was wär' es, wenn das Endliche
> Zu ihm gelangte mit der Sehnsucht Schwingen?
> Nein, mich umfängt das Unabwendliche.

And following close on "Merlin" are the five chiliastic sonnets (1832) about the Christ that is to come. It is an idea to which Immermann gave considerable thought.[87] The Eddas were extremely interesting to him because of the mixture of the legendary and the Christian-Gnostic-Chiliastic elements contained in them.[88] He thought, after "Merlin" was finished, of writing an "Erlöster Merlin," stating, however, that he did not know just how he would proceed.[89] Putlitz says[90] he would have dramatized the idea contained in these sonnets: that the new King will appear, not as a world-deadening figure, but in world-transforming glory.

The first sonnet[91] tells when the new Christ will appear; when the records of to-day have been found to be fabulous. The second tells how he will come; not as a warrior-king, nor as a prophet, but as one whose every act brings renewed joy to man. The third defends the poet's attitude toward the new Christ on the ground that man derives no real joy from the present one. The fourth attacks St. Simonism as it had been propagated by Claude Henri in his "Nouveau Christianisme." The fifth swears allegiance in advance to the Christ that is to come.

[85] Cf. Wegener: *Aufsätze zur Litteratur*, pp. 87–179. Wegener, by the expenditure of a good deal of energy, makes *Merlin* a Protestant poem: Merlin comes to grief because he forgot God when he assumed God's role. He can now regain God's mercy not through any act of his. This must come, voluntarily, from God Himself. The essay is valuable because of the relation it shows between the poem and Fichte-Schelling and Spinoza.

[86] Cf. XV, 134.

[87] Cf. XI, 222–225.

[88] Cf. *Beer's Briefwechsel*, p. 238.

[89] Cf. XV, 52.

[90] Cf. P. I, 336.

[91] Cf. For all the sonnets, XI, 222–226.

The foregoing sections treat, in broad outline, the essential phases of Immermann's romanticism. It is in accordance with such a formula that the contents of the works of any German romanticist can be most completely analyzed. Yet this scheme does not entirely cover romantic content. There are certain devices that continually recur in romantic creations. It is customary to speak of certain works as being intensely romantic, as containing many romantic devices: Eichendorff's "Sehnsucht," Tieck's "Genoveva," Novalis' "Ofterdingen." The great majority of these miscellaneous motives were touched upon by Immermann, and the most important are the following:

He introduces his dramas by means of a prologue or dedication that gives to the entire drama a romantic atmosphere, as in "Das Thal von Ronceval." The scene is in the Pyrenees, amid the graves of the fallen heroes. Saga speaks. This protectress of the battle-valley lives under the runic stone of the heroic age with the spirits of the rocks, in a moss covered cavern. She tells of the glories of the past and the poet dips her simple story in rainbow colors, and we are to get a picture of joy and sorrow, of love and hate. Tieck has written nothing more romantic than the entire prologue.

Aside from the choicest lyrics of Heine, Uhland and Eichendorff and the greatest dramas of Kleist and Grillparzer, the romanticists' chief claim to fame lies in the realm of epic writings. And this is the case with Immermann. It is the epic material that characterizes even his dramas. It is in the epic that the romanticist can make his confessions and give vent to his individualism. There is only a mere shred of real dramatic action in "Petrarca." It is an epic in five acts.

"Das Auge der Liebe" is a romantic comedy[92] *par excellence.* A sentimental love story provides the framework. There are two sets of characters, belonging to opposite social types, acting together at times but not bound by any tie of likeness or sympathy. Chance plays a great rôle. The hero is a spirited, generous, whimsical, royal lover, accompanied by a buffoon. There is an abundance of irony. There is the super-

[92] Cf. Hamelius: *The Theory of the Romantic Comedy.* This summary is given: "The predominance of chance over will, the introduction of cultivated characters and refined feelings, relieved by their opposite extremes. . . . Wonderful occurrences, supernatural spells and magic" (cf. 37–38).

natural element. The Neapolitan Prince discovers his German princess, transformed as she now is into an ugly hag by means of a "little miracle."[93] And parallel to the plot of the nobility is that of the peasants, centring around Claudius and Frigida. The comedy is also not entirely without real poetic passages as in the song of Titania over the sleeping Amanda.[94]

Then, the romanticists were nothing if not critics. Immermann's best criticism is seen in his studies of Calderon, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Fichte and Grabbe. He frequently compared Calderon with Shakespeare, yielding the palm to Shakespeare except in the case of "Der standhafte Prinz," which Immermann considered Calderon's greatest work, and greater than anything Shakespeare ever accomplished. "The drama begins," Immermann says,[95] "where others stop. It is not a question of accompanying a hero through guilt and passion to purity, but of the clarification of a pure man to the point of sanctity. Lessing was correct so far as his knowledge went, when he said that a Christian martyr is undramatic, but he did not know of Calderon's work." After a long and minute discussion, Immermann closes by saying: "Calderon has here shown how a minimum of sin can produce a maximum of sorrow. Fernando's only guilt is a sort of pleasing frivolity; the drama reminds one of the word: God chastens those whom he loves."

But his choicest bit of criticism is on the "Ajax" of Sophocles, a critique[96] worthy of careful study at any time. His thesis is: since the ancient classical tragedy arose from entirely different beginnings—from the lyric, while the modern tragedy sprang from the epic—and since the ethical, religious and artistic principles of the Greeks were radically opposed to ours, a revival by imitation of the classical tragedy as it has been practiced by Gerstenberg, Goethe, Schiller, Müllner and Grillparzer is neither desirable nor possible.

[93] Cf. XIV, 89.

[94] Cf. XIV, 125.

[95] Cf. XX, 185–195. Immermann made for the Düsseldorf theatre thorough studies also of *Drei Vergeltungen in Einer, Das Leben ein Traum, Der Richter von Zalamea, Der Wunderthätige Magus, Die Tochter der Luft.* For an excellent review of the latter, cf. XIX, 141–157.

[96] Cf. XVII, 401–454.

Aristophanes[97] is discussed in connection with Platen who attempted to imitate the inimitable old master. "One can learn," Immermann says, "from Goethe or Shakespeare, Aristophanes is only to be enjoyed. He reflects his own age, an age with which we have nothing in common. He is to be enjoyed not as the strict and stern censor of democracy but as the infallible guide through its labyrinthian ways. The zenith of his poetry is 'Die Vögel.' And just as Beatrice was, so to speak, the conscience of Dante, the glory of Old-England the conscience of Shakespeare, the love of nature that of Goethe, so was political morality that of Aristophanes."

In Fichte[98] Immermann saw an intellectual symbol of the schismatic chasm between the goal and the endowed gifts through which the goal is to be reached. Immermann looked upon Fichte as a philosophic martyr, a man of stupendous will striving for the unattainable. His speculation leads to an empty temple, devoid of gods. God is portrayed as a spendthrift, love is colorless and life is activity. Fichte's philosophy is a sort of intellectual Brownianism applied to the astheny of the age. His best work, from the standpoint of style and content, is "Die Reden an die deutsche Nation." The only reason why it did not give Germany any trouble at the time is that the French did not understand it! This essay is a *résumé* of philosophy. Immermann goes over the ground from Anaxagoras, Socrates, Plato, the Stoics, Aristotle, the Scholastics, Occam, Bacon, Hobbes, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Locke, the Encyclopedists, and Kant up to Fichte, and then continues with Pestalozzi, Hegel and Schelling.

Immermann's criticism[99] of Grabbe, while valuable, grew out of a personal relation, though he claimed never to have looked on Grabbe as a friend. It is the longest of his critiques and is replete with keen dramatic observations. "Herzog Theodor von Gothland" is the tragedy of human nature in general. "Marius und Sulla," the exact opposite of the preceding work, is a picture of the dissolved Roman world, not as facts but as the spirit of history gave it to the poet. "Scherz, Satire, Ironie und tiefere Bedeutung" is a good criticism of

[97] Cf. XX, 162–172. [98] Cf. XVIII, 168–193. [99] Cf. XIX, 5–106.

unworthy and weak literary productions, but does not have enough grace and winsomeness to make it poetry. "Don Juan und Faust" contains the suggestions without the genius of Mozart and Goethe. "Barbarossa" and "Henry VI." are taken from the history of the Hohenstaufens, and these lie too nearly midway between heaven and earth to admit of dramatic treatment. His best work is "Hundert Tage." He pictures an artificial world, but in such a way that we are forced to enter it and feel at home. His descriptions of battles are the best, thus far, in German literature. In "Hannibal" a great genius falls a prey to the mercenary spirit of a commercial city. "Aschenbrödel" contains winsome fairy scenes. In "Hermannsschlacht" he attempted patriotic local color.

One of the vagaries of romanticism, as exemplified in the matrimonial meanderings of Karoline Michaelis Boehmer-Schlegel-Schelling, was that the marriage vow is the death blow to love. This was the attitude of Countess Lützow to Immermann, and this is the picture that he has poetized in "Petrarca"[100] and "Merlin."[101] Hugo von Sade is the husband of Laura, and thus she deprives herself of the enjoyment of the fruits of Petrarch's grand passion and makes the world to him an empty void. Artus is the consort of Ginevra and by her union with him she is barred from Lanzelot's lofty love and makes the world to him a lifeless sphere.

To the romanticists love was one with religion, or applied religion. They neither believed in nor practiced a first and only love, but in different loves, in progressive love. Love to them was a longing for the unattainable; and therefore one, if not the chief characteristic of their love, was the peril with which its consummation was fraught. They loved a forbidden love. It was a romantic fancy that invented the love potion of "Tristan" and "Cardenio." Immermann has given but one picture of love that knows no defiance of the law: Oswald and Lisbeth.[102] In all the other cases there is some one thing that hinders the union and therefore helps the intensity of the

[100] Cf. XVI, 270–275. [101] Cf. XV, 114–120.

[102] Cf. *Münchhausen*, with special reference to *Oberhof*. That this, however, is a romantic love affair, one would grant without stopping to ask what "romanticism" means.

love: Roland and Zoraide, Oswy and Rosalinde, Petrarch and Laura, Guiscardo and Ghismonda, Cardenio and Olympia, Marcellus and Celinde, Tristan and Isolde, Manfred and Roxelane, and so on.

The motive of gruesome cruelty, a remnant of the prologue to romanticism, "Storm and Stress," received some consideration from Immermann in "Cardenio und Celinde." The most consistent treatment, however, is in "Periander." Periander murders his queen, Melitta. His oldest son, Thrasyll, becomes insane. The younger son, Lykophron, is killed by the Corcyrians, among whom he lives in exile. At this Periander takes his own life. Lykophron murders his servant and disbelieves in his sister Melissa. There is not one ray of light in the entire drama.

Immermann was possibly most at one with the romanticists on the question of education. They did not believe in pedantic, didactic book methods. They scorned system in education and worshipped the "natural" method. They did not formulate a pedagogic creed, because they did not believe in an outlined scheme of instruction. Immermann continually recurs to the same idea. He shows unmistakable influence of Rousseau.[103] Let one reference suffice for all:[103] "The young teacher from Switzerland began Emilia's instruction in a new way. He took her out into the fields, showed her the country round about, excited her curiosity as to the countries that lay beyond, carried her imagination to the ocean and so on, so that she soon had a good knowledge of geography."[104]

That Immermann was an artistic nature is proved by his efforts at the Düsseldorf theatre. He worshipped art as the visualization and sublimation of beauty. He spent the last thirteen years of his life in a circle of artists, all of whom dedicated their services in part to romanticism: Schadow, Hildebrandt, K. F. Lessing, K. F. Sohn, J. W. Schirmer, J. Hübner, R. Wiegmann, E. Deger, E. Bendemann, H. Stilke, H. Mücke, C. Köhler. He did not always agree with them; they did not always agree with each other. But it was a ro-

[103] Cf. *Immermann's Gedanken über Erziehung und Bildung* von Oberlehrer Kaiser. Halle, 1906.

[104] Cf. *Der neue Pygmalion,* Vol. VIII, 32.

mantic school.[105] His description of the school is somewhat supercilious;[106] he has patience only with the greatest in art. In religious art he thought that Christ rather than the Madonna should be the main source of inspiration. He praises Deger on this account, but says he eventually went over to the school of Fiesole and began to paint angels and madonnas. In a painting he insisted that some one thing should stand out prominently and all else be subjected to this.[107] On this account he liked sculpture better than painting,[108] since it does not contain so many accessories. He liked much color, claiming that the discovery of color was the greatest discovery ever made in the realm of art. He liked voluptuousness in coloring. On this account he praised Paul Veronese, who showed that Christianity was something else than blood, wounds and nails. For the same reason he did not like Correggio and Guido Reni. The Düsseldorf school never became great because its members never learned that color is to the painter precisely what words are to the poet. With G. E. Lessing he believed in a complete separation of the different arts; poetry entirely by itself, then sculpture and painting well demarcated. The modern German school, starting with Carstens, did not, he said, draw its primitive inspiration from art and nature, not from a deep, dark impulse. It was a matter of adaptation and imitation.

Aside from these, there are a great number of other more or less important romantic themes that Immermann frequently treated. They can be only tabulated here: hatred of Napoleon ("Das Grab auf St. Helena," XI, 319); German patriotism ("Andreas Hofer"); reverence of the past ("Mehr als die Gegenwart ist, wie Ihr wisst, die Vergangenheit meine Göttin," XX, 114); anachronism (Das Caroussel in "Epigonen," VI, 5–102); parody on "Die Braut von Messina" ("Das Auge der Liebe," XIV, 145); poetry as express means of confessing personal views (religious convictions in "Merlin"); masks ("Die Verkleidungen"); impoverished nobility ("Tulifäntchen"); figure of star and flower ("Tulifäntchen,"

[105] Cf. Fellner: *Ges. einer, d. Musterbühne,* pp. 53–67.

[106] Cf. XX, 197 to the end of *Düs. Anf.,* the same work in which Immermann came to a climax from other standpoints.

[107] Cf. VIII, 14.

[108] Cf. P. I, 64.

XII, 23); knighting ("Tulifäntchen"); operatic texts ("Auge der Liebe"); man against machine ("Tulifäntchen"); automatons ("Tulifäntchen," XII, 68–76); knitting bag as the symbol of romantically effeminate men ("Tulifäntchen"); dallying with one's own existence (Johanna in "Epigonen"); doubles ("Die Verkleidungen," XIV, 249); romantic proper names (Flämmchen-Fiammetta in "Epigonen," Balsamine in "Tulifäntchen"); superstition and old customs (Peasant wedding in "Münchhausen"); artist and Philistine contrasted (XI, 75); hostility to teas and other insipid social diversions (a frequent theme: cf. "Petrarca," XVI, 270); effeminate weakness in men (Lykophron in "Periander"); operatic intermezzos in dramas (Das Thal von Ronceval, XVI, 46–50); sharply contrasted characters side by side, not merely different characters (This is Immermann's usual method; of the method Lessing—Hamb. Dram., 86 section,—says: "Kontrastierte Charaktere sind minder natürlich und vermehren den romantischen Anstrich"); Westphalian court of the secret tribunal ("Münchhausen," Book VII, Chapter 9); contempt of life ("Merlin," speech of Lohengrin, XV, 153); versatility (Hermann in "Epigonen"); primitive conditions (The old huntsman's life, father of Emilie in "Pygmalion" VIII, 21); the peasant class ("Oberhof," and highly valued by Im. everywhere); Magi (das Thal von R., XVI, 64); magic (V, 197); Orient (various dramas); Dschinnistan ("Tulifäntchen"); wandering heroes (Hermann in "Epigonen"); magnetic cures ("Epigonen," VII, 139); dreams (Prologue to "Das Thal von R."); ghosts ("Cardenio u. Celinde," "Edwin"); *Schwärmen* (Manfred's speech, "Friedrich II," XVII, 238); the separation of lovers during life and their union, by poetic justice, in death, thus poetizing death and leaving life as the tragic part of "existence" ("Ghismonda"); the blending of art and religion in one picture ("Friedrich II," XVII, 270); the chase (der wilde Jäger in "Oberhof," but one finds some use of the chase in almost all of Immermann's more pretentious works); purposelessness (Hermann in "Epigonen"); direct attacks on enlightenment (I, 8); homage to troubadours ("Petrarka," Act III); unreserved hostility to the literary recensionist

("Recensenten = Idylle," XI, 102–104); the poetization of the lie (the political lie in "Ronceval" and "Hofer," the marriage lie in "Tristan" and "Cardenio," the life lie in "Epigonen" and the artistic lie in "Münchhausen"); the dedication of works to friends ("Edwin" to Goethe, "Merlin" to Schnaase, "Periander" to Kohlrausch and Gessert, "Friedrich II" to Schadow).

CHAPTER IV

Romantic Structure: (1) Poetic Form, (2) Prose Form, (3) Style

Es ist überhaupt ein seltsames Missverständnis, die Poesie einer Nation von ihrer eigenthümlichen Form als etwas ganz Zufälligem trennen zu wollen; beide gehören nothwendig zu einander wie Leib und Seele, und geben eben zusammen erst die Poesie.—Eichendorff.

The German romanticists laid great stress on poetic structure, on form and style.[1] They did not, as is superficially believed,[2] preach and practice mere formlessness, but variety of form. By form they meant not merely external, grammatical, correct form,[3] such as Platen observed, but an inner, a spiritual form of adaptation, such as one finds in Shakespeare or Cervantes. They cherished no special hostility toward any one poetic form:[4] they simply believed that one form adapted itself to the expression of one feeling, another to another. Just as a chapel and an armory would display different sorts of architectonics, so did they believe that religious and martial moods should be expressed each in its own form. And if, in a given work, various moods followed each other in rapid succession, there would be a corresponding variety of forms. Immermann, though a master capable of

[1] Cf. Novalis *Schriften,* Zweiter Teil, 2, pp. 606–619.

[2] Cf. Merkel with reference to Tieck's *Genoveva,* Ranftl, pp. 234–235.

[3] Cf. XVIII, 160. Immermann quotes Platen's works as an example of correct, grammatical form.

[4] Cf. The classicists did drive out the Alexandrine, but the romanticists made no attempt to drive out the iambic pentameter. They were not, in this respect, reactionary, but reconciliatory; they wanted all forms to flourish, side by side, provided feelings were to be expressed that demanded this variety. As a metrist, Immermann stood somewhere between Heine and Freiligrath. Heine gave Immermann suggestions on the subject of metrics for *Tulifäntchen,* Immermann gave Freiligrath ideas on the same subject (cf. K. Immermann; *Blätter der Erinnerung an ihn;* hrsg. von Freiligrath, pp. 116–136). Yet Immermann placed Freiligrath above Lenau and Chamisso as a metrist (cf. *ibid.,* p. 130).

sustained effort only in prose, tried some of the most important romantic verse forms. He tried also at times to write a romantic style. To show that he consciously tried to adapt sound to sense and form to facts, an analysis of one of his shallowest dramas,[5] and his deepest one,[6] will suffice.[7]

> Der gefleckte König dieser Wälder
> Rennet tiefer in die grünen Büsche.

The prevailing verse is the unrhymed, trochaic pentameter.[8] There are a few iambics. Certain questions arise in this connection. Why did Immermann now descend to prose, now rise to verse, and now sing in rhyme? And why did he employ verses of various length? Minor shows[9] that no verse has such a decisive influence on structure, on general syntax, as the trochaic of four feet.[10] From this he argues that it lends itself well to poetic structure. Granting this, it would seem that Immermann adopted the form with poetic consciousness, since it occurs only in the different songs, and with a noticeably poetic effect. In the opening prelude, among the clouds, Droll speaks in this measure.

> Peitscht die Wolken, faule Winde!
> Träge Wolken, schliesst geschwinde
> Euch zum dunstigen Portal!

It is employed with equally happy effect in the song[11] of Titania that treats of love and fancy. But when Droll and the elves wish to ridicule Seybold, they do so in iambics of four feet.[12] And one of the most expressive songs is that

[5] Cf. *Das Auge der Liebe.*

[6] Cf. *Merlin.*

[7] Aside from analyzing these dramas, examples from miscellaneous sources are given of the other important romantic verse forms.

[8] Cf. Minor: *Neuhochdeutsche Metrik* (1902 ed.), p. 226. The form came from Servian folk songs, and was first used in German by Herder in his folksongs. It is well chosen in this drama of battles, the chase and the flitting of fairies.

[9] Cf. Minor, p. 226.

[10] Immermann's most important use of trochaics of four feet is in *Tulifäntchen* (1829), a work that inspired Heine to the same form in *Atta Troll* (1842).

[11] Cf. XIV, 125f.

[12] Cf. XIV, 166.

of Droll at the close of the prelude, in iambics of two feet.[13] There are two strophes of ten verses each, with a rigid verse at the beginning and close of each strophe and verses of great freedom intervening.

Then, as to the alternating rhymed verse, unrhymed verse and prose, in each instance, with one possible exception,[14] the shifts are made consciously and purposely.[15] The first striking change from verse to prose is in the dialogue[16] between the Neapolitan Prince and Claudius, his master of hounds. They discuss the disappearance of Amande, and Claudius tries to comfort the Prince. Finally, after a long series of unrhymed trochaics, Claudius begins to philosophize about the omnipresence of love, whereupon the Prince informs him, in prose, that he does not understand him, and begs him to remember his soaring statements until they get home, where, by means of pen and paper, the Prince will assure these lofty sentiments a future life. They then discuss prosaic matters in prose. In other words, as Shelley[17] intimated, they framed their imagination in verse, their reason in prose. The monologues with one exception,[18] are in rhymed verse. The entire last scene, where all the characters of importance occupy the stage, is in rhyme.[19]

[13] Cf. XIV, 95–96.

[14] The speech of the peasant woman Ursel, who had given shelter to the exiled and disfigured Amande. She speaks in verse, twelve lines. But Tieck also, in *Octavian,* has, at times, not only Hornvilla but unnamed peasants speak in verse, rhymed and unrhymed.

[15] Cf. Deetjen (*Jugenddramen*), who thinks that Immermann employed verse and prose and rhyme arbitrarily (p. 154).

[16] Cf. XIV, 104ff.

[17] Cf. *A Defense of Poetry.*

[18] Cf. XIV, 149. Speech of Thymian. This is not a monologue, in the ordinary sense. Thymian is alone for a while, since it would have spoiled his intrigue with the ring had others been on the stage.

[19] There would be no point in tracing each individual change from one form of speech to another throughout the entire drama. There are, in round numbers, about fifty such shiftings; there are only about seven main forms. That the peasants speak prose, the nobility verse, and that the songs, monologues and concluding lines of speeches are in rhyme is only natural. The questions for solution are these. Why do the nobility at times speak prose? And why do the peasants at times speak verse? Immermann's rhyme calls for no special comment as to its quality. There are a great many impure rhymes: aufzufinden-ergründen. There are

In "Merlin"[20] the matter is much more complicated. There are but two brief selections in prose, and there are a variety of verse and strophic forms such as were revived by the romanticists. First the verse forms: the prevailing form is the *Knittelvers*.

> Warum, du Fürst im finstern Land,
> Hast du dich einsamlich verbannt?

In selecting this form, Immermann followed in the footsteps of illustrious predecessors,[21] and at the same time lightened his own metrical burden. The first use of iambic pentameters is in Satan's threat to Candida (562–573).[22] The appropriateness of the form just here is evident, as well as in the return to iambics in the speech of Satan immediately preceding the ruin of Candida (621–632). The next striking form is the trochaic of eight feet,[23] from the Greek, with variations, and familiar through Poe's "Raven." The most happy use of this form, however, is in the speeches of the "Erscheinungen" (1208–1229).

Ach, die Rosen blühten lieblich, und die Nachtigallen sangen,
Liebeselig, still und fröhlich bist du durch den Hain gegangen.

Then follow a series of dactylic-trochaic verses in the dialogue between Klingsor and the dwarf (1288–1319). Then in the dwarf's song (1320–1331) there are rather striking trochaic trimeters. The minstrel sings (1859–1896) in Alexandrines:

> Einst hört' in salva terra Perillus süss Getön,
> Es klang nicht von der Erde, klang aus des Himmels Höh'n.

A happy adaptation of sound to sense is seen in the verses of Klingsor's instruction to the dwarf concerning the preparation

treble rhymes: Wipfel-Gipfel-Zipfel. Then there are such enjambements as:

> Wenn ich sage: Pflicht, so wird es deutlich noch Zeit und Ortsgelegenheit.

[20] The dwarf reads to Klingsor from *Ecclesiastes* (cf. XV., 89), and Kay, when completely nonplussed as to the nature of his errand, gives vent to his despair in prose (cf. XV, 104–105).

[21] Among others, *Faust*—and *Merlin* owes much to *Faust*—and the Capuchin sermon in *Wallensteins Lager*.

[22] The verses refer to the Mync edition.

[23] Lines 667–704.

of Castel Merveil (2535–2548). They are written in dactyls with all the variations that this form allows and invites. Then, Niniana, in the forest of Briogne, sits by the fish-pond and sings in very regular, and musical, trochaics of four feet, in which form Immermann had had valuable experience.[24] These are the verse forms. That Immermann attempted to adapt form to content is evident. That he occasionally failed is owing to his lack of talent and not to the fault of the scheme.

Then the strophe forms: the dedication (1–189), the dictation of Merlin to Placidus of the story of the Grail (930–1006), and the speeches of Artus, Gawein, Gareis, Erek, Ginevra and Lanzelot (2409–2457) are in the form of the younger Titurell strophe.[25] The first strophe, with its reminiscence of Walther v. d. V., runs:

> Ich sasz, vom Fels bedachet,
> Vertieft in alte Rollen,
> Aus denen an mich lachet'
> Ein ganzer Himmel alles Rätselvollen.
> Ich musste oft sie auf die Seite legen,
> Weil gegen Wunsch und Wollen
> Ich lesen nicht gekonnt vor Herzensschlägen.

The first instance of romanic strophe is in the seven ottava rimas[26] of the Kay scene (1033–1088). The second is in the terzines[26] of Lohengrin (3095–3134). To quote one that contains an oft recurring idea in Immermann:

> Mich dünkt, die Erd' ist nur ein leerer, trüber,
> Baumloser Anger, mit Gebein besät,
> Kahl, unabsehlich, unfruchtbar; worüber.
> Die schwarze Fahne der Vernichtung weht.

[24] The best verses in the entire work are naturally those in which Immermann had had practice; the iambic pentameters, from his previous dramas, and the trochaics. His experiment in doggerel is interesting because of the poem in which it is found primarily a thought poem, pure and simple. It is not primarily a "romantic" verse form, nor are romantic, dramatic poems, thought poems.

[25] Cf. Friedrich Kauffmann: *Deut. Metrik,* pp. 80–82. There is given a brief analysis of this form.

[26] Cf. Minor, 470, for the enormous role this form played among the Ger. romanticists. Immermann's most consistent use of the form is in *Tristan u. Isolde.* Here are found also his best *terza rimas* (cf. XIII, 249–251). The strophe quoted is, as can be seen by the separate verse, the last strophe.

There are also two songs (1320–1335 and 1549–1581). There are, finally,[27] a great variety of strophes of four verses, with varying rhyme schemes, and the Latin hymn, "O sanctissima" (633–638), which found a place in Herder's folksong collection.

Of the romanic strophes not found in "Merlin," Immermann's sonnets must naturally take first place. Of these he wrote, in all, sixty-three. The rhymes are predominatingly feminine, with different sorts of rhyme schemes. He used the sonnet for many purposes; he sonnetized about the dreams of the poet as well the vagaries of a poodle[28] or the vigilance of a policeman.[28] Petrarch's letter to Hugo von Sade is in the form of a sonnet.[29]

These are the most important forms revived by the romanticists and the ones Immermann used most consistently and sympathetically. There is an occasional approach to other romanic forms,[30] and he sported with the oriental ghasel[31] and makamen.[31] In the terzine,[32] he approved wholly of feminine rhymes, but criticized Michael Beer for not following the Italian custom of having the middle verse of one strophe rhyme with the first and third verses of the next strophe, rather than the reverse. His theory was that one rhyme should announce the coming of two, and not that two should announce the coming of one. In this same letter, he shows how the terzine lends itself well to the expression of "majestic, religious or political" ideas. Concerning the ballads in "Merlin,"[33] he explained that "the bizarre, eccentric and unusual can be brought close to the feelings only by a familiar form, hence the cordial, golden ballad tone." He interwove, usually with happy

[27] Cf. (1752–1781) the Tafelrunde scene, and (2111–2132) the opening strophes between Lanzelot and Ginevra, for a strophe form, similar, in some ways, to the *younger Titurel* strophe.

[28] Cf. XI, 303 and 302.

[29] Cf. XVI, 225.

[30] Triolett (XI, 61), Ritornell (XI, 276). But they are not genuine.

[31] Cf. XI, 289 and X, 68.

[32] Cf. *Beers Briefwechsel*, 172–177. Immermann reviews B.'s *Traum des Kaisers*. Immermann looked upon the strophes of the terzine as waves following one another. If the figure be apt, B.'s arrangement would seem just, for waves get smaller, not larger, as they flow on.

[33] Cf. Koch edition, p. 95.

effect, in his dramas and epics, the Gassenhauer (XIII, 70–71), the Bänkelsängerlied (XVI, 157), the Singsang (XIII, 97), the Latin Sequence (XI, 146), the German Volkslied (XVII, 383)*, and the Russian Volkslied (XV, 258). Immermann showed himself most a romanticist, however, by his application, in certain poems, of a great variety of unscanable verse forms and "original" strophe forms.[34] Yet he claimed that it was a matter of suiting sound to sense. He said that the chicanery of form compels, of itself, to concise thinking and composing.[35]

Also, there are passages in which Immermann attempted musical effects by means of assonance and end rhyme, and striking effects by means of alliteration. He admitted,[36] however that assonance can play only a small rôle in German, so poor in vowels. He said[36] that assonance had been employed in "Tulifäntchen" as an "emblem" not as a "system." His most conspicuous use of assonance, or the assonantal construction is his frequent attempt to portray the gruesome and awful by an abundant use of the dark vowels.[37] His application of alliteration resembles caricature. He employed also the echo rhyme,[38] so attractive to Tieck. But with it all, Im-

[34] Cf. XI, 260, *Gnom und Nachtigall* and XI, 235, *Merlins Grab.*

[35] Cf. XV, 170–174. On the forms in *Alexis.*

[36] Cf. XII, 6.

[37] Cf. Song of the dwarf in *Merlin* (XV, 94), where the rhyme Thurme-Sturme is kept up through four strophes. The other rhymes are: Molch-Lolch, Krötenstein-Todtenbein, geschaut-bethaut, schwirr'n-Hirn. Or compare in "Periander" Lykophron's remarks on the appropriateness of his "home" by the sea:

> Es (das Land) gürtet sich mit schroffem Felsenbollwerk;
> Die Wellen laufen Sturm, zerstossen sich
> Die grünen Häupter an den ew'gen Schanzen
> Und schäumen zornig, heulen laut vor Schmerz.
> Dort auf dem breiten Felsen will ich wohnen
> Und wie der tagesscheue Uhu horsten. (XVI, 318.)

[38] Cf. *Litterarhistorische Forschungen,* Heft XXI, pp. 157–159; the first version of *Friedrich II,* published by Werner Deetjen:

> Nie hab ich in engen Schalen
> Strahlen
> Unsrer Sonne fangen wollen,
> Grollen
> Kann ich nicht der Welt, wenn brünstigt sie verlanget, dich zu schauen, Stern der Frauen! (Enzius to Roxelane).

mermann, though he followed in the romantic wake, could not manipulate all those artistic and grace bringing devices that must ever come to the aid of great form lyrist. Petrarch, in "Petrarca," announces in a letter, in the form of a sonnet, that he is going to visit Hugo von Sade. Hugo can not understand certain things in the letter, and Laura explains them in this way:

> Der Reim hat Deinen klugen Freund bezwungen.
> Der Reim reisst die verständigsten Leutz zu ungereimten Reden hin.

This describes, and explains, some of Immermann's lyrics. And excepting his trochees, and a few of his iambics, one feels the appropriateness of his own verses:

> Horch, die schwerste Sünde ist,
> Wenn Du nicht begeistert bist,
> Dichten willst,
> Papier erfüllst,
> Aus dem Kopf ein Reimchen quälst,
> Silben zählst
> Und, *o pecus,* den Musengaul
> Willst brauchen wie den Karrengaul. (XI. 255).

If, in the lyric and drama, the romanticists aimed at variety of form, in the epic they practically admitted the desirability of confusion, or romantic irregularity. This irregularity can be explained if not artistically excused. The lyric treats, subjectively, of the inner world of the poet, and is consequently brief. Experiences of the soul do not last long. The drama treats, objectively, of the world of other men; the hero and his followers struggle against an opposing party. In the drama, logical development, according to the order of things, is necessary, and confusion, if the drama is to be acted, is impossible. But in the prose epic, in the romantic novel, there is given an account of the experiences of the leading character with the world about him. Now if these experiences are told, all in the same form, and in a perfectly regular order from remotest cause to ultimate result, the effect, the romanticists thought, would be monotonous and prosaic. In the second

chapter of "Die sieben Weiber des Blaubart," Tieck says:[39] "Nothing is more usual than to begin a story in an odd way. The more confused it is at the beginning, the more interesting. One should not know at first who is going to be the hero." The chapters in "Münchhausen" run: 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, Correspondence of the editor with the book-binder, 1, 2, 3, and so on to the 17th and last chapter of Book I. In this interwoven correspondence, the binder tells[40] why he did not put the first chapter first: "The first chapter is too tame. Such a beginning would have been allowable in the days of Cervantes, but not now. Now one must begin in some unusual fashion. The more confusion the better." Immermann was here satirizing[41] a romantic custom—he and the romanticists often satirized things they liked—but the "confusion" is just the same. Let an analysis of Immermann's first, shortest, and most romantic novel, "Die Papierfenster" suffice as a picture of romantic epic irregularity.

The novel bears, in broad outline, a striking similarity to "Werther." An extremely sentimental individual, versed in the writings of various poets, takes his life because of his love for a woman who belongs to another. There is an introduction, in which the author looks upon himself as the editor of these pages; the hermit had written down his thoughts on scraps of paper, which he afterwards used to stop up holes in the windows of his forest-cell; the poet, while on a walk, finds them and "publishes" them. There are three main divisions, the first of which contains the central plot. This is composed of letters by Friedrich, one by Ludwig, some observations of the aunt to her friend Klotilde, a post-script by Christiane the second love of Friedrich, fragments of letters, notes from Friedrich's diary, and an explanation from a stranger, in which the "editor" tells of the death of Friedrich and Christiane on the day set for the wedding.

The second part is even more irregular. There are, in the order given, scattered notes, some alphabetic-dramaturgic re-

[39] Cf. *Tiecks Schriften,* IX, 95–96.

[40] Cf. I, 46–47.

[41] Immermann is really satirizing the arrangement of Pückler-Muskau's *Briefe eines Verstorbenen.*

marks jotted down just as they occurred to the hermit and with the wildest sort of confusion, a funeral sermon on a gnat, some observations on the dog's tail, two blank pages to be filled in by the reader and an evensong in rhythmic prose. Part three contains some general reflexions, the drama "Die Verschollene," hymns to renunciation and the nightsong of a starving man. Lyrics are scattered throughout the work, there are quotations, in the original, from "Hamlet," as well as discussions of this work and of "Egmont," "Robinson Crusoe," Goethe's "Geschwister," "The Vicar of Wakefield," Augustine's "Confessions," Kotzebue, Aretino's "Sonnets," Dante, Sophocles, Aeschylus, "Des Knabenwunderhorn" and the Bible, while "Die Wahlverwandtschaften" is paraphrased. Join all this together in a rather short novel, and one gets a picture, if not a caricature, of romantic formlessness.[42] There are various devices of a similar nature in "Epigonen" and "Münchhausen." But Immermann never again became quite so romantic.

That Tieck and those who came after him attempted to write a piquant, a romantic style, needs no proof. Renewed

[42] The contention is not made that all novels written by the romanticists display such an utter disregard of the conventionalities as Immermann shows in this novel, written at a time when he was most completely under romantic influence. They simply did not write novels arranged in orderly fashion by chapters as did, say Gustav Freytag. For a discussion of Immermann's general novel technique, cf. *Untersuchungen über Immermann's Romantichnik* by Wilhelm Kaiser, Halle, 1906. This dissertation was followed in 1907 by one that covers practically the same ground: *Goethe's Einfluss auf Immermanns Romane und Novellen*, Marburg, 1907, by Franz Thewissen. Kaiser devotes nearly a half of his study to Immermann's (novel) sources, and concludes that his literary sources were (p. 33): Cervantes, J. G. Müller, Tieck, Jean Paul, Sterne, Swift and Wieland; also Rückert, Le Sage, Reuter, Aristophanes, George Sand and Arnim. The discussion of Immermann's technik amounts to a comparison of Immermann and Goethe, as Kaiser admits (p. 40). He treats Immermann as Rieman (*Goethe's Romantechnik*) treated Goethe. It will be readily seen how the two works overlap: Thewissen devotes, out of 65 pages, 29 to a comparison of the motives in *Epigonen* and *Wilhelm Meister*. And finally, as a defense of this unconventionally irregular sort of novel, Novalis says (Heilborn, I, 319): "Eigentliche, romantische Prosa—höchst abwechselnd, wunderbar, sonderliche Wendungen, rasche Sprünge, durchaus dramatisch. Auch zu kleine Aufsätzen."

exemplification of this phase of romanticism is, however, always deserving of a place in a well rounded picture of the movement. Novalis defined[43] the theory of romantic poetry as "the art of surprising in an agreeable manner." Fr. Schlegel said:[44] "In 'Sternbald,' Tieck's style is romantic; before this he had no style." The romanticists either revived the past, in an archaic style, or prophesied as to the future, in a mystic style. If they treated the present, they attempted to make it very picturesque.[45] In poetizing the past, they introduced, for the sake of art, not science, old, poetic words and expressions. Immermann did the same in imitation of his romantic models. There occur, among others, the following examples:

der Aar—XVII, 254.
die Abbatissin—XVII, 377.
absonderlich—XVI, 18.
der Abbas—XIII, 170.
allendlich—XIII, 270.
allsogleich—XVII, 22.
allewiglich—XIII, 263.
amusiren—XIV, 220.
annoch—XIII, 140.
anjetzo—XIII, 187.
anjetzt—XVII, 167.
äsen (aasen)—XIII, 53.
alles Ding—XII, 64.

daheime—XV, 82.
von der Damen—XIII, 159.
das Diario—III, 149.
deshalben—XIII, 23.
dorten—XII, 13.
dräut—XII, 97.
dunkele—IV, 86.
balde—XIII, 66.
basz (sehr)—III, 79.
benebst—I, 64.
der Bronnen—XV, 98.
die Büchereie—XIII, 168.
der Buhurt—XV, 109.
die Botschaft werben—XVI, 45.
Hatt' er fromm sich bethan in die Klaus—XIII, 71.

die Curée (hunting term)—XIII, 65.

[43] Cf. *Novalis' Schriften,* II, 167. Quoted by Petrich.

[44] Cf. Haym, p. 894.

[45] Cf. *Drei Kapitel vom romantischen Stil.* This is practically the argument adduced by Petrich. That mysticism, archaism and picturesqueness in style will occasionally overlap and always merge gradually one into the other, is to be taken as a matter of fact. The classification adapts itself well to Immermann's case, and is followed strictly. Deetjen (*Litth. Forsch., Heft* XXI, p. 118) says: Den Stil der Romantiker hat Immermann nie geschrieben. Nach alten Formen, wie sie Tieck liebte, kann man bei Immermann lange suchen. Ein 'anjetzo,' ein 'zween' steht ziemlich vereinzelt da. Auch die Bevorzugung von Adjektiven auf 'lich' tritt bei Immermann lange nicht so stark hervor, wie bei den Führern der r. Schule." This is not a wholly accurate statement, as this and the following pages will show.

ein überschwänglich Glücke—XIV, 141.

empfahen—XVII, 271.
ewiglich—XII, 87.
erhübe (erhöbe)—XVII, 304.
entbrann (from entbrinnen)—XIII, 118.
erklommnen (=vor Kälte verklammten)—XVI, 201.
erspaziergängern—III, 105.
erweltfahrern—III, 105.
entlängst—III, 175.
erkobern (=erwerben)—XIII, 211.
ein fröhlich Völklein—XVI, 535.
ein gut Werk—IX, 66.
etzlich—XVII, 507.
gebeut (gebietet)—XVII, 261.
gülden (ü for o very common)—XII, 36.
der Geniess (=Genuss)—XIII, 82.
das Gereide (Gerät)—XIII, 186.
ein alt Gerüll (Gerölle)—XVI, 345.
geschicht (geschieht)—XV, 65.
gepreist (gepriesen)—XV, 73.
gespaltet (gespalten)—XV, 116.
gelahrt—XIII, 167.
gluthzitternde (glutzitternd; postpos.)—XIII, 194.
geuss (giess)—XVI, 211.
der Grafe—XIX, 217.
Gülten (=ca. Zinsen)—III, 74.
gesetzet—XIII, 52.
mein geduldig Thier—III, 81.

jetzunder—XV, 113.

der Kanker (die Spinne)—XIV, 146.
kronenbar (kronenlos)—XVII, 212.
ein Kleines (ein wenig)—XII, 82.
das Kränzelein—XII, 112.
keuscher Frauen Minne—XVII, 311.
die Königinne—XIII, 24.
klungen (klangen)—XV, 53.
kunnt (könnte)—XV, 110.
die helle Küchen, XIII, 76.
der Kiltgang (Tyrolese)—XVI, 509.
Kästen (Kastanien)—XVII, 86.
ein Knapp (Knappe)—III, 75.

fleuch (=flieh)—XIV, 94.
Frölen (=Fräulein)—XIV, 193.
Die Fraue—XIII, 24.
frohn—XIII, 29.
fleugt (fligt)—XIII, 141.
der heil'gen Frauen (sing.)—XV, 56.
fürnehm (vornehm)—I, 10.
der Fürste—XIII, 151.
die Fahr (Gefahr)—XVII, 16.
Forchten (fürchten)—XIII, 72.
der Göt (=der Pate)—X, 255.

Der Herre—XII, 31.
ein Herze—XIII, 27.
der Hornung (Februar)—XIII, 54.
in Hasten (in grosser Hast)—XII, 103.
der Hochgemuthe—XIII, 120.
der Henk (Henkel)—XIII, 125.
hernacher—XIII, 167.
Hispanien—XVI, 15.
Historie—XVI, 18.
hinte Nacht (=heute Nacht; cf. *Götz v. B.*, V. 6. It was from *G. v. B.* that Tieck

learned to read. Cf. Petrich p. 44)—XVI, 106.
hochgemuther Recke—XVI, 129.
Periander hat 60 Jahre—XVI, 365.
hinfüro—XV, 132.
Hörnelein—XIII, 71.
Helfenbein—XVII, 86.
hiebei—IV, 75.
hierorts—XIII, 67.
sich hasten—XIII, 189.

(Forms in -lich)
schauerlich—XVII, 166.
kühnlich (very frequently)—XVII, 170.
verwahrlich—XVII, 171.
traulich—XVII, 179.
sichtbarlich—XVII, 183.
spöttlich—XII, 16.
sächtlich—XII, 30.
gewaltiglich—XIII, 50.
genüglich—XIII, 52.
wunderbarlich—XIII, 94.
furchtbarlich—XIII, 102.
züchtiglich—XIII, 110.
seltsamlich—XIII, 121.
einsamlich—XV, 59.
freudiglich—XV, 135.
lustiglich—XX, 29.
sänftlich—XIII, 237.
emsiglich—XV, 535.
mächtiglich—XV, 369.
mildiglich—XIV, 116.
allergnädlichst—XV, 292.
lücklich—XV, 141.
unweigerlich—XV, 315.

der Leu—XIII, 36.
ein sonderbar verjährt Lied—XVII, 377.
Leugen (Lügen)—XIII, 165.
Lunden (London)—XIII, 167.
lobe (gelobe)—XV, 116.
Lichter an des Kopfes Wänden (Augen)—XIII, 54.

nie kein (of frequent use)—XIII, 197.

der Othem—XV, 339.
der Oehm—XIII, 245.

platscht (plätschert)—XIII, 100.
pirschen (generally, birschen)—XIII, 52.

der Ränfter (Remter)—XVII, 190.
der Ruch (Geruch)—XIII, 266.
rufte—XV, 73.
rück (zurück)—XIII, 247.
trätiren—XIV, 194.
thut verdriessen—XIV, 249.
tyostend—XV, 118.
Treugen (Trügen)—XIII, 165.
tödtet (getödtet)—XVI, 207.
die Templeisen—XV, 112.
trunken (getrunken)—XV, 113.
Trutz (Trotz)—XI, 163.
trübtief—XV, 92.

urtheln—XIV, 169.
umfahn—XVI, 270.
unmustern (=unwohl)—II, 29.
Urbestes—XIII, 233.
vonhinnen—VIII, 21.
verbeut (verbietet)—XVII, 261.
verloffnen (verlaufenen)—XII, 31.
vergleichsam (gleich)—XVI, 152.

verdefendiren—XVI, 210.
vor (für)—II, 26.
von (davon)—XV, 128.
vor (zuvor)—XIII, 36.
vielerhand—XIII, 74.

zween—XVII, 181.
zweien—XVII, 244.
zurücke—XII, 36.
Zauberinne—XIII, 127.
Zirk (Bezirk)—XIII, 162.
zeuch (zieh)—XVI, 15.
ziegen (ziehen)—XVII, 512.
die Minne—XVII, 174.
die Maid—XVII, 261.
mählich—XII, 41.
meine (mein)—XIII, 45.
Magen (relatives)—XIII, 121.
die Massonei—XIII, 124.
das Mägdelein—XVI, 49.
Märenschalk—XVI, 152.
miauzen (miauen)—XVI, 206.
Märlein—I, 47.
die Melodei—XIII, 143.
das Missal (das Messbuch)—XIII, 182.
müd—IV, 74.
mein theures Lieb—IV, 93.
des Mai'n—III, 94.
das Männel—XIII, 199.

stickt (steckt)—XIV, 154.
Straussen (Sträusse)—XVII, 197.
Schildelein—XII, 69.
so (as relative, frequently)—XII, 88.
sonsten—XII, 103.
sahe (sah)—XVI, 233.
die Scheue—XIII, 64.
Schwertes Leit—XIII, 122.
singen und sagen—XIII, 139.
der Sippe—XIII, 167.
die Schaube (a garment)—XIII, 157.
liebesiech—XIII, 29.
in der Sonnen—XIII, 227.
sieben Jahre stark—XIII, 52.
stehn (ruhen)—XIII, 58.
Scripturen (Schriften)—IX, 15.
die Sehe (Sicht)—XV, 380.
sonderer (besonderer)—XV, 79.
Schnittermaidchen—XIII, 198.
späte—XI, 341.
schwaumeln (not in Grimm; = heulen)—XIII, 80.
stahn (stehen)—XVII, 513.

worden (geworden)—XII, 34.
Waldgerinnicht—XII, 57.
waldein—I, 217.
Wundergift (-Gabe)—XIII, 206.
Wafurloga—XVI, 184.
weshalben—XIII, 23.
Weiben—III, 80.

The older romanticists believed in the aristocracy of the intellect. They wrote for poets. All of them, W. Schlegel always excepted, were rather fond of vague phrases that give tone to mysticism. This Immermann did not do to any note-

[46] The list does not claim to be complete. An effort has been made to give the most representative forms, and the ones that occur most frequently. Concerning the forms in -lich, in *Eudoxia* alone (31 pages in length) there are 55 cases.

worthy degree. He first paid homage to mystic thought in the poem "Merlins Grab" (1818).[47] But the style of this poem is perfectly clear. In "Alexis," however, with special reference to "Eudoxia" (1831),[48] we have a realistic, rationalistic drama with a mystic background. "Eudoxia" is the epilogue. There are two main scenes; one on the heath, one by the sea. A fatalistic[49] thread runs through the entire trilogy. Eudoxia is the embodiment of mysticism. Once the proud Tsarina, she is now exiled on the heath, lives in a fallen castle, is blind, spends her time in magic murmurings and prophecies, and marvels at the mysteries of life. The heron, raven, falcon, owl and vulture add weirdness. Catharina thus describes the heath:

> Aus dürrem Erdreich keimt empor die Distel hier,
> Unheimlich schwingend blass gefärbter Dolden Haupt;
> Der Ort ist oede, Siedler sind wohl Fuchs und Wolf.
> Da hinten steigen schwere Dämpfe, lagern sich,
> Die niedre Sphäre deckend zu des Horizonts,
> Wo sind wir? Grell im gelben Licht scheint alt Gemäu'r
> Zerborsten, fahl, ruinenhaft von jener Höh'.[50]

And throughout the entire drama, one feels as if one were groping in some vast and dark though open region, in a stifling atmosphere, weighed down by heavy thoughts and attended by uneasy companions. In view of the situation to be dramatized, this is as it should be. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the content, the philosophy of "Alexis" is not romantic. It is written in a romantic, that is to say, in a mystic, or better still picturesque style. First, some individual words: Todesrohr (gun), weiland, Reihermütz', Knäs (Ritter), Bojar (Krieger), länderüberlastend, worden (geworden), bildsäulenstarr, second-sight, mich bedünkt, todesheiter, gehorsamt (gehorcht), sehnlichst, Rahm (Rahmen), Wucherüberfluss, ein Wen'ges (ein wenig), schreckgefesselt, mann-

[47] Cf. XI, 234–239.
[48] Cf. XV, 359–392.
[49] Cf. XV, Peter, p. 371:
"Verkehrte Sterne lenken meinen Fuss und Arm,
Gewaltsamkeiten auszuüben gegen Sinn
Und eigene Neigung."
[50] Cf. XV, 364.

weiblich, flötenlispelnd, andachtentzückt, segenschwer, einstens, Orlog, Räthsel.

Then, some substantives with their compounds: Zukunftschwangre, sterndurchblitzte Nacht; ewige Notwendigkeit; dienstschweisseingenetzter Stirn; uralte Fürstenzier; weissbemooster Trümmerbau; angstgenesene Brust; flitterputztbehängtes Kind; graunbeladene Haide; adligfestes Schweigen; unabänderlicher Schluss; des Phantomes Höhle; unsichtbargeheime Hände; nachtfroststarrer Eisesspiegel; schmerzdurchwühlter Leib; schmelzbeblümter Mantel; liebliche Qual; einherstolziernder Tod; süssliches Grinsen; dreiundfünfzigjährig Lüge; morgenbleicher Streifen; salzigfaulichter Geschmack.

And finally, a few phrases: Ihr streng Geschick, bereitet durch Gerechtigkeit. Wahren Fürsten däucht der Purpur schauerlich. Heilsam vergessend-vergessenes Sein, friedbringendes Dunkel ist nah. Fern der unseligen Ding' gramtriefendem Gräuelgemisch. Aufgezehrt, scheidend von dem Dochte hebt sich schon der Flamme letzt Geleucht. And then the final speech of Gordon in which he says that he can as little solve the riddle of the universe as the now disanimated Czar.

But the romanticists used many means other than striking expressions to make their language picturesque. For example: the repetition[51] of a given word for emphasis or motivation ("Verrat" in "D. T. v. Ronceval," "Tod" and "Mord" in "Eudoxia"); the quoting only in part of a well known folksong ("D. T. v. Ronceval," I, 1); the use of the "Tageslied" ("D. T. v. Ronceval," Act IV, beginning of scene 4); no unity of mood, springing from the crassly realistic to the highly phantastic (the chief characteristic of "Das Auge der Liebe"); strengthening an expresion by coupling many verbs or nouns together (II, 125: "Das ist ein Getreibe, Gerutsche, Gebrumme, Gepoltre, Gedusele, Gedudele, Geschreite, Gewinsele und Gerumore durch einander"). Frequent repetition of the same word in various forms ("Edwin," XVI, 137: "Ein wilder Mann in allerwildster Wildniss"); use of contrasting

[51] Cf. *Studies in German Romanticism,* by Martin Schütze. Chicago, 1907.

compounds (albern-klug—XIX, 212, lieblich-schrecklich—XIX, 225, süsser Schauder—XVI, 13); fondness for metaphor "Periander," XVI, 351); verbal witticisms[52] (the derivation of "Kater" from Greek "katháiro," "to clean," because he cleans the house of mice, "Katze" from Greek "Katá," "against," "over," "along" and so on, because she is continually springing about. Cf. I, 87); the use of prologues ("Ronceval," "Merlin"); mottoes at the beginnings of chapters of a novel ("Epigonen").

[52] That the romanticists favored puns is shown by the way in which their opponents looked upon the "countless witticisms" as a characteristic feature of the Tieck–Schlegel school. (cf. *Justinus Kerner als Romantiker*, Heinzmann, 1908, p. 17). Their prototype was Shakespeare. A common form of pun was the distorting of Latin expressions (cf. *Das Auge der Liebe*, XIV, 131: *Salfe Pfennige* (salva venia). All of Immermann's puns are pretty poor. Are not Shakespeare's too? Is there any point to Shakespeare's pun on "sole" and "soul"?

CHAPTER V

Immermann's Opposition to the Romantic Current: (1) Rationalism, (2) Realism, (3) Antiromanticism

Wir müssen durch das Romantische, welches der Ausdruck eines objectiv—Giltigen sein sollte, aber nicht ward, weil seine Muster und Themen ganz anderen Zeitlagen angehörten, hindurch in das realistisch-pragmatische Element.—Immermann (1839).

Immermann's nature, both as man and poet, seems to have been made up of two halves, but integral halves, which, when joined, formed a double whole. This fact was often commented on by his contemporaries and regretted by himself.[1] Also, he passed through different stages of poetic temperament, something after the fashion of Tieck in Germany or Gray in England. He never lost an opportunity to deprecate the baneful influence of rationalism on his youthful mind. He began as a rationalist; and he returned to rationalism, for a brief season, several times in the course of his career.

Rationalism may be described as the exact opposite of mysticism. Scientifically written history is rationalistic "literature." The meaning is to be gotten from the lines and not between them. The rationalist poetizes what he sees and can therefore explain. The romanticist poetizes what he hears and symbolizes what he sees. In rationalistic literature, the characters simply think and talk about life and love. A goodly number of Immermann's lyrics belong to this class, as well as four unimportant comedies and, to a large extent, "Alexis."

Immermann's lyrics impress one somewhat as do those of Lessing. Any great lyric is romantic. Marie Ebner-Eschenbach thus describes[2] the nature of a real lyric:

> Es liegt darin ein wenig Klang,
> Ein wenig Wohllaut und Gesang
> Und eine ganze Seele.

[1] Cf. XVIII, 21–222. *Die Jugend vor fünfundzwanzig Jahren.*
[2] Cf. Theodor Klaiber. *Dichtende Frauen der Gegenwart,* p. 55.

But Immermann's lyrics[3] are in no sense whole-souled. When he jests, he is prosaically trivial. When he is serious, it is plainly not a matter of direct response to lyric inspiration but of reason and reflection. And when he coquets with his griefs, he imitates Heine with whom this sorrow-nursing tendency was often simulated, making it third-hand with Immermann. Then there is frequently something wrong with the euphony of his verse. In such a line as "wir glühn, wir lodern, verbrennen," "ver" is an unhappy parallel to the preceding "wir."

"Morgenscherz" is a pastoral comedy of twelve scenes, written in rhymed Alexandrines. There are three characters, Lucidor the shy lover, Rosa the bashful beloved and Lucinde the sly matchmaker. At the suggestion of Lucinde, Philidor masks as a gypsy fortune teller and in this way learns that Rosa loves him. There are romantic conceits such as forgetting one's rôle, masks, gibes at "Die Schuld" and incomplete quotations from "Hamlet." But these are accidental. The entire comedy is made up of inanely sentimental talk about love, such as one finds in Immermann's present models,[4] Gleim, Gellert and Th. Körner. It plays in May. This gives Lucinde this inspiration:

> Es schmilzet die Natur, und alles fliesst und thaut,
> Und jedes Mädchen wird, will's Gott, zu einer Braut.

"Die Nachbarn,"[5] a prose comedy of one act, has real charm. Martin and Friedrich live, as sworn enemies, in adjoining houses. Their children, Ehrenfried and Kätchen, fall in love. This leads first to a reconciliation of the parents and then to the revelation of the fact that the fathers are brothers. It is a family piece after the style of Kotzebue and Iffland. The separation and eventual finding of the brothers resembles "Nathan der Weise." There is superficial romanticism in the good German names and the large part played by old documents, but the characters simply talk and reason about idyllic love and human hatred. Then Immermann went over to romantic themes until 1825, when he wrote "Die schelmische

[3] Cf. XI, 3–357. The poems are arranged according to the themes they treat.

[4] Cf. Deetjen, *Jugenddramen*, p. 12.

[5] Cf. XV, 8–34.

Gräfin," a one act comedy in Alexandrines. It plays in May and sentimentality is the keynote. The Count is making asseverations of undying love, and costly presents, to the rustic Röse. The Countess learns of this, and gives Röse comfortable household necessities, so that the Count will suffer no inconvenience when he makes his calls. In this way she leads her husband back from the paths of dalliance, until he pronounces her the crown of all women and an incomparable wife. This tiny comedy shows how a rationalist treats the otherwise romantic theme of free love.

Three years later,[6] "Die Schule der Frommen" was written. This German "Tartüffe" is a three act comedy in Alexandrines. It is a thrust at hypocrisy and overgreat piety. Cephise, a young widow, has read the mystic writings of the Tersteegens until she has become so pious that she considers it a sin to love. She has, to be sure, an affection for Kleanth, but he dances. In course of time, a pietist, Kamäleon by name, desiring the widow's money, makes love to her. But Maskarill, Kleanth's servant, who was formerly in the employ of Kamäleon, brings the latter's true character to light. Kleanth then wins Cephise's hand, and Kamäleon becomes again openly the worldling he has always been. This comedy, the last one Immermann wrote, shows a phase of Catholicism, that had just been brought to his attention.

"Alexis" is a didactic drama. It teems with practical proverbs: "Rein Schild ist Nothwehr." "Eile kürzt die Strasse." The theme is the execution of Alexis at the direct command of his father. The inner idea is "that the demon of Reason and Enlightenment which has heretofore been so assiduously impelling Peter the Great is at last (in 'Eudoxia') overcome, when, having been persecuted beyond all measure, nature recoils on her pursuer and strikes down her intrepid

[6] These two comedies show how Immermann searched for themes. *Die schelmische Gräfin,* with its light, flippant treatment of a single unimportant incident and its list of French words and expressions, follows close after the realistic *Trauerspiel in Tirol. Die Schule der Frommen* followed *Kaiser Friedrich,* and is its counterpart, so far as religious expressions are concerned. It is an unromantic theme. Tieck did, to be sure, treat in *Die Verlobung* the same theme, but Tieck was hardly a romanticist in 1823.

foe."[7] Even here there are a few isolated and unintentional romantic touches such as the love of Alexis for Euphrosine, the wearing of the twig that grows on the grave of the innocently murdered as an amulet, Peter's dream foretelling the murder of Alexis, and the passivity of the latter's character.[8] But the main themes are all treated rationalistically: The marriage vow is frequently broken, but in each case because one or the other is a wretch. The one case of apparent free-love, Mons and Katharina, is punished by an awful death. Politically the drama teaches that he who is "klagenswerth" is not therefore necessarily "herrschenswerth." Woman is given an inferior place. Alexis is condemned because passages can be found in the Old and New Testament that justify the punishment of filial disobedience. Catholicism is represented in "Die Bojaren" by Archbishop Dosithei, a more than colorless official. In "Das Gericht von St. Petersburg" Bishop Theophanes openly declares that there is but one power, that of the state. And Peter says he wishes to be remembered as the man of high purpose who rose from upper-boatswain to admiral. These are the main ideas that make the first two parts of "Alexis" a rationalistic drama.

In a negative treatment of Immermann as a romanticist, rationalism does not bulk large. Realism does. But this incontrovertible fact must not be lost sight of; rationalism is directly opposed to romanticism; realism may be only the shade in a romantic picture of light and shade. All of the romanticists employed, out of necessity,[9] realism. A little rationalism may therefore be much more of a refutation than much realism. Kotzebue's "Die deutschen Kleinstädter" (1803) and Sudermann's "Heimat" (1893) are typical examples, respect-

[7] Cf. XV, 170. Immermann's own explanation.

[8] The general similarity of the drama to *Wallenstein* is apparent, and Alexis is scarcely any more the real hero than is Max P. in *Die Piccolomini.*

[9] Cf. Francis Marion Crawford: *The Novel. What it is,* p. 45: "Why must a novel-writer be either a 'realist' or a 'romantist?' And, if the latter, why 'romanticist' any more than 'realisticist'? Why should a good novel not combine romance and reality in just proportion? Both are included in every-day life."

ively, of rationalism and realism. The themes, in very broad outline, are similar; the ambitious daughter of a provincial family goes to the great city, becomes acquainted with its complex life and returns home, after a while, only to find herself wholly out of sympathy with the primitive conditions that there prevail. Kotzebue shows how the people talk and think about life and love; Sudermann shows how they really live and love. In Kotzebue there is no romanticism and but little "poetry." In Sudermann there is much realism and a little romanticism. Immermann is primarily a realist in "Andreas Hofer," "Epigonen" and "Münchhausen." In these works there is much realistic poetry and not a little romanticism.

In German literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, overgreat attention was paid to the royalty and gentry. In the nineteenth century, the commonalty began to come to their own in literature. This gave rise to such healthy realism as we have in, say, Freytag. In the twentieth century, writers have concerned themselves largely with the peasantry. This has aided in bringing about the extreme realism of the last decade. Realism, radical or conservative, owes its origin largely to the progress in science and socialism and the consequent change in the direction of a more intense and rapid manner of living.[10] Immermann's realism[11] is that of Young-Germany, with its religious belief in the divine rights of the people.

And his first poetization of this belief is seen in "Andreas Hofer" (1833).[12] The theme is the uprising (1809) of the Tyrolese against the allied forces of France and Bavaria. It is dignified realism, portraying the deep-rooted though inexplicable[13] love of a simple peasant folk for freedom and protection at the hands of a tried sovereignty, and its tragic hatred

[10] Cf. Anton Schönbach: *Der Realismus.*

[11] No attempt is made in this study to distinguish between "naturalism" and "realism," it being difficult to distinguish between yellow and orange by twilight!

[12] Cf. The drama first appeared (1826) as *Das Trauerspiel in Tirol.* The first version is about double the length of the second. And, as happened with all the works that Immermann rewrote, the romantic elements are either weakened or entirely eliminated in the second form.

[13] Cf. XVI, 541. Hofer's reply to the Vicekönig.

at the idea of subjection to a new and untried one. The first two and last two acts consist of alternating pictures of the crude honesty of the peasant and the wily diplomacy of the prince. Act three,[14] in prose, takes place between the Chancellor, Metternich in everything but name, and the Councillor of the Legation. Hofer is Immermann's first great realist. There is no symbolism in his portrayal. When chosen leader of the insurgents, there is no national sword with which to give legality to his authority. So he takes a Bavarian sword that chances to be near by. Why not? "Der Stahl is todt; der Wille macht lebendig."[15] This could be set up as the motto of him and his party. That of his opponent, the Duke of Danzig, would then be: "Der Marschallstab macht mündig."[16]

Every action in the drama takes place at some definite point: Innsbruck, Sterzing, Klagefurt, Pusterthal, Znaim, Rinn, Hall, Villach, Schönbrunn, Wien, Passeyer, on the Isel. Every character, even every peasant, is given a distinct personality. Hofer, the Sandwirth of Passeyer, would rather lose his right hand than use it in signing a treaty that would disgrace Tyrol. Etschmann is the inn-keeper at whose hostelry the profane horse-dealer, Speckbacher, insists upon being shown the same courtesies that are accorded the French generals. Father Haspinger's beard is so red that he forms an easy mark for the enemy. Elsi, Etschmann's wife, describes the gypsies as "garstige, schlimme Leute, wohnen in Grüften, halten keinen Sonntag, gehn nicht zur Messe." And this at a time when she is carrying her child from plundered Tyrol to Hungary or Graubünden! And Frau Straubing is an honest Mutter Wolff.[17] She jokes with Hofer about his shaggy beard and his military appointment. She has come to him at the risk of her life on a double errand: to collect some money for some horses she sold him and to bring him a new recruit, Heinrich Stoss, her future son-in-law. She is anxious that Heinrich become a soldier in the noble cause rather than spend all his

[14] Cf. XVI, 520–526. Metternich is portrayed as an old man, tired of the poetry of youth. With the Tyrolese he will have nothing to do; to defend their cause, just though it may be, would involve Austria in a war with France.

[15] Cf. XVI, 498. [16] Cf. XVI, 502. [17] Cf. Hauptmann's *Der Biberpelz*.

time with Bärbelchen. When she leaves she refuses protection; she has her two strong arms and a club, and where she strikes, the grass does not grow. This is the sort of characters that Immermann now began to portray. The drama poetizes the righteous struggle of a plain people for their real rights.[18] Young-Germany believed in the poetry of this kind of folk. The Tyrolese were neither mystics nor dreamers; neither "reactionaries" nor ironists. They did not know about the past;[19] they did not concern themselves about the future so long as the present granted them their simple claims. They made a romantic struggle for precious realities.[20]

In "Epigonen," we have a double picture of realism. The book is composed of romanticism and realism.[21] The abnormality of the former prevents, forever, the normality of the latter. This culture-novel portrays, approximately, the social condition of Germany from the War of Liberation of 1813 to the Revolution of 1830.[22] The scene is in Westphalia. There is a depiction of epigonian romanticism and unripe realism. The former is openly condemned, the latter seri-

[18] Cf. Bettina v. Arnim's *Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde,* Fränkel ed., Vol. 2, pp. 19–108. Bettina is most enthusiastic in her letters to Goethe concerning the justice of the cause. She writes (p. 20): "Ach hätt ich ein Wämslein, Hosen und Hut, ich lief hinüber zu den gradnasigen, gradherzigen Tyrolern und liess ihre schöne, grüne Standarte im Winde klatschen."

[19] Cf. XVI, 486. The Duke asks Speckbacher whether the people read *Guillaume Tell.* He replies that they read only the calendar. In another place (p. 535), the Vicekönig asks Hofer whether he has read in the news paper that peace has been declared. This is Immermann's first use of the modern paper, one of the first anywhere in the German drama.

[20] It is typical of Immermann that he should have selected this theme for his first realistic drama. As to the importance of the movement in Tyrol, cf. the ponderous work of Josef Hirn, *Die Erhebung Tirols im Jahre 1809,* of 875 quarto pages.

[21] *Epigonen* contains many romantic devices, with which, however, Immermann is plainly out of sympathy; on the other hand, the fact that he antagonizes the industrialism of the epoch—that of the factory rather than that of the farm—does not militate against the classification of the work as predominantly realistic. The majority of realists attack the conditions they portray.

[22] Cf. V, iii. Immermann here declares the work to be a compendium of what he had to say on the "Doppelnatur unserer Zustände, die Zweideutigkeit aller gegenwärtigen Verhältnisse."

ously regretted. The prevailing tone is pessimism.[23] There is presented a struggle between two aristocracies: that of birth and that of money.[24] The victory, in so far as there is one,[25] goes to a third party. The battle is between feudalism and industrialism. The novel itself is a transition novel,[26] just as Hermann feels himself to be a transition character. He strives to become a modern realist but his ambition is stifled by out-of-date romanticism. He would like to do something, but he sees no encouragement to a man of stern purposes.[27] It must suffice to tabulate the chief realistic[28] characteristics that the epoch created, and that the novel portrays.

Minute description of concrete things and everyday situations plays, for the first time in Immermann, a determinative rôle. Heretofore he had described psychic states. Now he portrays real situations and the resultant influence is left to the imagination. When he wishes to emphasize the gruesome horrors that tortured the soul of Hermann (V, 96) after his incestuous night with Johanna-Flämmchen ,he simply says he will imitate the artist who drew the veil over Agamemnon's face at the sacrifice of Iphigenia. The feeling of Hermann

[23] It is largely a novel of the nobility. Of this class Hermann (Immermann) says (v. 145): "Der Adel ist eine Ruine."

[24] Hermann's uncle represents the aristocracy of money, the Herzog that of birth.

[25] Can Hermann be called a 'victorious' hero? Does he act as a reconciliatory spirit between two contending parties and eventually win the victory over himself to the extent that he knows, at the end of the novel, his mission in life and earnestly sets out to fulfill it? Putlitz (II, 138) answers the question in the affirmative, Heinrich Keiter (*Theorie des Romans,* p. 60) in the negative. The truth lies about midway between: Hermann is a developed but ineffective character at the close of the novel.

[26] It stands between the novels, of similar purpose, of Goethe, Fr. Schlegel, Tieck, Dorothea Schlegel, Novalis, Brentano and Eichendorff on the one hand, and those of Freytag, Meissner, Keller and Spielhagen on the other.

[27] Cf. V, p. 7. The Philhellene tries to persuade Hermann to leave Germany. Hermann replies: "Traurig für mich, wenn ich in Deutschland etwas wollte. Aber eben, weil ich nichts mehr will, tauge ich auch nirgend mehr hin als nach Deutschland."

[28] For the romanticism in *Epigonen,* cf. *Goethe's Einfluss auf Immerman's Romane und Novellen,* Thewissen, 44ff. The author lists the great majority of romantic touches found in the novel; i. e., he points out those things in both novels that are romantic, with, naturally, no intention of drawing a picture of romanticism in either.

can not be described, but only imagined. He does set forth at length the clothing and appearance of the millionaire uncle (V, 66–68) and of all the leading characters; the political condition of Germany from 1820 to 1830 (V, 123–125); the methods of the Gymnasien, Realschulen and Universities (V, 186–190); the merry-go-round and the people who visit it (VI, 5–102), the more detailed features of which he claims to be unable to describe (64); the arrangement of the factories of his uncle where the "sense of beauty is lost entirely" (VII, 18–22); Flämmchen's dancing (VII, 61), to which so much attention is given as contrasted with any satisfactory portrayals of her feelings; the Canon's library, next to the kitchen (VII, 82); the room in which he wrote "Epigonen" (VII, 99–100); the nature of "Epigonen" (VII, 103–106); the reading public (VII, 114–115); woman's suffrage (VII, 125–128); the condition of the workmen in the factories of his uncle (VII, 18–22); nervous sickness (VII, 164); science (VII, 158–160); socialism (VI, 103–135); and other realities.

The work in its entirety shows how real people live and love. Here are portrayed the domestic life, the vocation and the avocation of nineteenth century Germans. There is the uncle with his factory and his plants—a realistic attitude toward nature. There is every variety of love from the illegally frivolous that begot Hermann and Johanna to the almost prosaic affection of the Duke for the Duchess. There is the uncanny love of Flämmchen and the healthy love of the hero and heroine. Hermann is really loved by all the women: Franziska, Johanna, Flämmchen, the Duchess and Cornelie. And when romantic themes are discussed, it is from the realistic standpoint. Catholicism (V, 160–166) is represented by the Duke and the Duchess, who no longer belong to this generation, and preached by a neophyte, who has been won over by seeing, in Rome, a wonderful crucifix encased within a wretched wooden one. This he takes to be symbolic of the Church: abused and misused without, glorious and powerful within. Then there is the ever recurring theme of the cemetery and the grave. But here it is a costly mausoleum, erected by modern machinery (VII, 180–226).

In "Münchhausen"[29] also we have a double picture of realism. In the satiric part, those unrealities and misconceived realities that encumbered German life and literature from 1830 to 1840 are parodically paraphrased.[30] In "Oberhof," realities are poetized. In the former the lie is flagellated, in the latter truth is glorified.[31] The scene is again in Westphalia.[32] The prevailing tone is optimism. The struggle is between aristocracy and democracy, the victory going to the latter. The partly unbalanced Baron, the sentimental Emerentia and the visionary Münchhausen give way[33] to the sturdy Hofschulze, the normal, healthy Lisbeth and the honest Oswald. In the former, Immermann attacks books that do not deal with real life; in the latter, he portrays real life remote from books. The complete "Münchhausen" is Immermann's most modern work. The satiric-humorous part[34] resembles a modern college year-book of quibs and grinds on everybody and everything within college circles. Immermann satirizes most keenly Raupach's prolificness, Görres' mysticism, Hegel's absolutism and Justinus Kerner's seership.[35]

[29] *Münchhausen* bears somewhat the same relation to *Epigonen* that *Wanderjahre* bears to *Lehrjahre*. This is true not only in the themes treated but also in the genesis and purpose of these works. In *Lehrjahre* there is a definite plan, in *Wanderjahre* a number of incidents are given a semblance of coherency by their general relation to a common hero. Immermann likewise had a fixed plan in *Epigonen*, whereas he did not know at the beginning how *Münchhausen* would end. He compared his situation to that of Mozart, who changed, in the making, the character of Sarastro (cf. P. II, 257). Or *Epigonen* bears about the same relation to *Münchhausen* that the First Part of *Faust* bears to the Second.

[30] Cf. Heinrich von Treitschke: *Deut. Ges. im 19ten Jahrh.*, Vol. 4, which treats of the same period.

[31] Cf. *Euphorion*, Bd. 3, pp. 265–335: *Wahrheit und Lüge auf dem Theater und in der Literatur*, by Jacob Minor.

[32] It is a novel of peasant life. The Diaconus says: "Der Bauernstand ist der Granit der bürgerlichen Gemeinschaft." Or compare the closing paragraph of the entire work.

[33] Cf. Chap. XIII of Bk. VI. There appears this heading: "Der einzige praktische Charakter dieses Buches ereicht seinen Zweck."

[34] It is customary to think of *Oberhof* as composing books II, V, VII and VIII. There is, however, no really good reason for excluding book VI from the work.

[35] Aside from these, more than half a hundred writers, ancient and especially modern, Greek, English, Dutch, French, Spanish and especially German receive some sort of gibe. Immermann makes a more or less

But it is the modernness and realism of the themes that make the work realistic. The most important of these are railroads (I, 8), corruption of German by the introduction of foreign words (I, 14), the things for which each of the great modern nations stands (I, 17), the amassing of great private fortunes as in the case of the Rothschilds and its effect on society (I, 19), homeopathy (I, 44), modern magazines and newspapers (I, 70), philology and phonetics (I, 72–80), stocks and bonds (II, 35–46), proverbial distrust in contemporaneous literature (II, 96), eugenics (III, 105), the technique of truth telling (III, 183), the new religion (III, 196–197) and various remarks on modern customs, dress, habits, traveling and science and the new methods of instruction in science. And after a discussion of these and similar themes the satiric part of "Münchhausen" closes with the statement by the hero: "Verdampfen, 'verduften,' 'verschwinden.' Ihr seht mich nicht wieder." And we go over to "Oberhof," the first village-story in German literature, one of the greatest of its kind, and Immermann's most enduring work.[36]

The eternal value of "Oberhof" lends weight to the somewhat strait-laced thesis[37] that the novelist should not begin to produce before passing his eighth lustrum. Heretofore Immermann had tried deep, broad and pretentious themes. Now, after a rich experience in the school of disappointment,

serious, satiric thrust at all alike. He criticizes Jung Deutschland in just about the same spirit that he criticizes Wolfgang Menzel. Add to this the long list of similar novels that various editors quote as Immermann's literary models—those of Tieck, Swift, Wieland and Cervantes in particular, as well as those of Le Sage, Christian Reuter, Lichtenberg, J. G. Müller, Grimmelshausen and others—and it is at once clear that the satiric part is a sort of year-book in which a poet of extremely wide reading playfully jests with the literary phenomena of his day. The redeeming feature of it all is the optimistic spirit in which the whole is viewed.

[36] Cf. Heinrich Treitschke: Vol. IV, *Das junge Deutschland,* 407–497. Treitschke passes in review the social and literary phenomena from the beginning of Heine's residence in Paris to the appearance (1840) of D. F. Strauss' second work, *Die christliche Glaubenslehre.* Treitschke himself says (p. 450): "Immermann bleibt der Ruhm, dass er in seinen beiden Romanen seinem Zeitalter den Spiegel vorhielt, wie vordem Goethe in Wilhelm Meister und Freytog in *Soll und Haben.* Nur wer diese Zeitromane kennt, versteht den inneren Zusammenhang der drei Epochen unserer neuesten Geschichte."

[37] Cf. Keiter-Kellen: *Theorie des Romans,* p. 166.

he meets with unquestioned success in the poetization of the predominant characteristics of the plain people. The characters are types known by their business rather than by given names.[38] The things they do are done as the result of customs and traditions[39] that date back to the days of Varus and Arminius and yet are in vogue in 1837, for the peasantry is immortal.[40] The men and women here passed in review represent none of that reactionary longing or visionary mysticism that characterize romantic heroes. They are contented. The past, present and future to them are one; for they live as did their remote ancestors, and posterity will cherish their traditions. They believe only in realities,[41] and of these they have an abundance. There is, to be sure, a phantastic, a romantic vein in Oswald; but Oswald and Lisbeth simply represent the poetry of the work. They are the two characters that show that Immermann's long subserviency to romanticism stood him, after all, in good stead. Many echoes of former poetic connections resound throughout "Oberhof," and one of these is Oswald, the wild huntsman, and Lisbeth, the blond foundling, and their relation to one another. The idyl shows how these and those that centre around them live and love.

Immermann is here, for the first time, largely objective. He stands in silence behind his characters while they talk and act.[42] Realism is necessarily objective.[43] The realism of this

[38] Of the twenty-five speaking characters, a few are given names, but known by nick-names or by their vocation: der Hofschulze, der Diaconus, der Spielmann, der Küster and so on. Even Oswald Waldburg-Bergheim is known as der wilde Jäger, and Elisabeth Emerentia Münchhausen is simply Lisbeth or der Findling.

[39] To cite all the instances of things that happen according to "hergebrachter Sitte" would be to tell the whole story. For examples, let suffice: I, 126, 140, 180ff.; III, 20, 23, 37, 38; IV, 58, 117.

[40] Cf. I, 189: Oswald says: "Die Idee des unsterblichen Volkes wehte mir im Rauschen dieser Eichen, u. s. w."

[41] Cf. IV, 118: Hofschulze says: "Jeder ordentliche Mensch kommt schon durch, der auf Wind und Wetter achtet und auf seine Füsse schaut und in seine Hände und sich mit seinen Nachbarn getreulich zusammenhält."

[42] Cf. I, 140–144: Immermann has just given a masterly description of the Oberhof and begins to interpret, so to speak, the feelings awakened by such a sight. Then he says: "Doch das klingt für diese Arabeskengeschichte zu ernsthaft. Sehen wir uns lieber im Oberhofe selbst um!"

[43] Cf. Keiter-Kellen, *Theorie des Romans*, p. 152.

story is largely external. We get a picture of the Oberhof and those who live on it; of their activities, amusements and customs, not of their really private or inner life. The Diaconus says[44] that the peasant has no time to develop his soul (Gemüth), he has too much work to do. The list of characters shows that Immermann intended to give a complete picture of peasant life. He portrays, accordingly, not only the Hofschulze and his servants, but also the preacher, sexton, school-teacher, physician, inn-keeper, stock-dealer, sheriff, judge, veterans of various wars, the organ-grinder, the collector of antiques, for the peasant also has his specialists, the jester and a sprinkling of the aristocracy. We see the peasant from all viewpoints: at work (I, 123–129), at church (III, 32–45), at his meals (I, 180–189), at weddings (III, 45–53), as a murderer (IV, 26–38) and as a judge (IV, 58–66). And especially do we see him in his relation to the various domestic animals of the farm.[45] The life of a peasant is largely spent with these, and a picture of peasant life would be incomplete without them.

"Oberhof" consists of two[46] pictures; the life of the peasants and the love of Oswald and Lisbeth. The former gives a realistic background to the latter, the latter a breath of poetry to the former. The two are artistically interwoven without being germinally connected.[47] Chance brings the lovers to the

[44] Cf. III, 59.

[45] The Hofschulze says (I. 175): "Das Vieh hat Alles besser als die Menschen-creatur; es findet den Weg sicherer, es hat sein ihm gewiesenes Futter und lüstert nicht nach anderem; es trägt seinen Rock angeschaffen auf seinem Leibe, es furchtet sich nicht vor dem Tode," u. s. w. A splendid picture is given of the chickens and turkeys as they look askew at the great kettles in which their comrades are being cooked for the wedding-feasts (III, 10). The cows are specially trimmed for the wedding festivities, and this was a troublesome bit of work (III, 10) "denn manche Kuh und dieses und jenes Rind wollte schlechterdings nichts vom Feste wissen." There is an interesting similarity between Immermann's golden-horned cows and the *gollhyrndar kýr* of the *Thrymskvitha*. Cf. Gering's (1904) edition, p. 151.

[46] The satiric part of *Münchhausen* also consists of two rather sharply differentiated pictures: the satire on modern literature and the actual escapades of Münchhausen.

[47] The element of love is almost completely eliminated from the peasant part of *Oberhof*. The Hofschulze's daughter is married, but we hear absolutely nothing of the courtship.

Oberhof; she comes to collect the rent for the Baron, her foster father, he to find Münchhausen, her natural father. They meet under what must be termed "romantic" circumstances[48] and love with a love that blinds the participants but is perfectly clear to the spectator.[49] The episode bears a striking similarity to "Hermann und Dorothea" on the one hand and "Freischütz" on the other.[50] But while the former is naïve and classic and the latter wild and romantic, "Oberhof" is realistic. There is not a thread of the supernatural about it all. It is without the suicidal sentimentality of "Werther," the magic potion of "Tristan," the morbid longing of "Phantasus" and the visionary mysticism of "Ofterdingen." Real people in real life show their mutual love by actions rather than words.[51] Nor do they rationalize[52] about love. It is not a love story copied from books. The digressive Waldmärchen[53] shows this. Nor is there anything unnatural about the affair. There are some discrepancies in social standing, which, though real, are removed by the natural growth of love. Interested friends have the physician pass on the hygiene and the lawyer on the legality of the union, but their decisions are returned as not available. The realism of this love lies in its intenseness, blindness and naturalness.

Immermann was poetically honest and true to himself. He pronounced no shimmering paradoxes concerning his genius

[48] Cf. Chapters XI and XIII, Book II.

[49] Cf. IV, 49. When Oswald thinks he will have to renounce Lisbeth because of her birth, Immermann digresses to the point of saying: Liebe ist so feige, dass sie vor ihrem eigenen Schatten erschrickt; Liebe ist blind in der Wahl, noch blinder in der Qual."

[50] For the first time literary allusions are reduced to a minimum. One however is significant, namely *Freischütz* (IV, 127). Whether Immermann was actually influenced by Kind's libretto it is difficult to say. There is a striking similarity in some of the themes. It amounts to a romantic and a realistic treatment of the same incidents.

[51] Cf. III, 61. The two are walking through the forest. "Zuweilen flüsterte sie: 'O Du!' Aber weiter sagte sie nichts."

[52] Cf. IV, 92. The Diaconus expatiates on the philosophy of love to Baroness Clelia, of course from the standpoint of Oswald and Lisbeth.

[53] Cf. III, 74–96. The knight is made happy by seeing the world and people and leads home his bride; the scholar comes to grief through his insatiable thirst for knowledge.

and its fruits. It was difficult, for instance, for Friedrich Schlegel to give clear, poetic expression to the many thoughts that his receptive, agile brain harbored; so he literally paid homage to unintelligibility.[54] Immermann's writings are, in a few respects, directly antiromantic. This antiromanticism, however, was not of the sort paraded by an enemy of the movement like Garlieb Merkel,[55] but was born of an irreparable inability to appreciate the romantic viewpoint.

His first appearance in print was a sharp attack against the Teutonia Burschenschaft at Halle.[56] His conduct in the matter was described by Fouqué as being "ungentlemanly."[57] Immermann attacked here an institution dear to the heart of a man like Eichendorff[58] and at first[59] gratefully acknowledged and then[59] ungratefully disowned by a man like Heine. His action was only the forerunner of that second antiromantic trait that was to accompany him throughout life and find frequent expression in his works; namely, his firm determination not to neglect those who are not poets and whom poets are to make free. The very nature of some of his works shows that he was not inclined to shirk the call to duty. Reference is not made here to the fact that he was an industrious, conscientious lawyer and judge, nor even solely to the fact that he frequently poetized practical experience, but rather to the fact that some of his most important works—"Memorabilien," "Epigonen," "Münchhausen"—are of such a content and written in such a style that they can serve and have served those who are not poets as a guide to better things.[60] What could such works as "Octavianus," "Ofterdingen" and Novalis' lyrics mean to those who are not poets? They were

[54] Cf. Minor: Fr. Schlegel, Bd. II, *Uber die Unverständlichkeit* and Joachimi: *Die Weltanschauung der Romantik*, 28–30.

[55] Cf. *Garlieb Merkel über Deutschland zur Schiller-Goethe-Zeit* (1797–1806), von Julius Eckardt.

[56] Cf. *Akademische Monatshefte*, from January 1, 1902, to February 1, 1903. The entire affair is treated at great length under the title: *Karl Immermann's Studentenjahre und sein Konflikt mit der Hallenser Teutonia* von Lic. th. Fried. Michael Schiele, Franconiae Tübingen.

[57] Cf. P. I, 48.

[58] D. N. L., 146, II, 2, *Universitätsleben* von Eichendorff, 56–60.

[59] Cf. Elster-Heine, I, 14–15, VII, 94ff.

[60] Cf. Wernaer: *German Romanticism*, 321–331.

written for poets. And it is this celestial content and archaic, picturesque and mystic style that Immermann occasionally attacked.

He classed somnambulism[61] with the impostures of Cagliostro (I, 8–9). He satirized as absurd the theory of the Düsseldorf school of "pious painters" according to which they saw in dreams and visions the objects they wished to paint and were thereby enabled to strike the exact resemblance (I, 39–49). In the "Fragment einer Bildungsgeschichte" he arraigned a bigoted nature-worship, overzealous enthusiasm, the phantastic, miraculous and visionary[62] (II, 59–110). He attacked Catholicism on the ground that it breeds superstition in the minds of the uneducated (V, 38–166). He allows the physician to remove the evil effects of an overwrought imagination by medical charlatanry (V, 80–90). A young girl has had her mind seriously perverted and in her secret possession are found Hoffmann's "Teufelselixire," "Der goldene Topf," "Rasmus Spikher" and others. He has Münchhausen tell of a period in his life when he became an aimless wanderer who traveled from country to country in order to become an interesting person. From his extensive travels he learns that Spain is noted for its wine, Italy for song, England for the Constitution, Russia for leather, France for the Revolution and Germany for servants. And the entire picture of unhealthy and abnormal circumstances in "Byzantinische Händel" centres around an attempt to revive an old form of art.[63]

[61] This was in 1839. Ten years earlier, in *Der Car. u. die Somnambule,* Immermann gave a picture of somnambulism, which, if not wholly sympathetic, shows that he was interested.

[62] Immermann frequently attacked romantic exaltation. In *Das Auge der Liebe* (XIV, 163) the Prince is told by his father, the King of Naples, that he is a visionary; the Prince replies: "Keine Schwärmereien! Mir ist nichts verhasster als ein Schwärmer; Glaubt, ich bin ein derber Sohn der Erbe." The remark has been applied to Immermann himself (Cf. Deetjen, Jugenddramen, p. 153).The application is correct, for Immermann, just like the Prince, hated Schwärmerei, yet he indulged in it at times, as does the Prince.

[63] A foreign art-poet is traveling through the country and Madame Meyer has him lecture before her club on Byzantine art. He speaks in *terza rimas.* After the lecture has lasted for hours, we are informed that "Die Höllenstrafen sind ewig; jede Vorlesung aber hört denn doch endlich auf (VII, 52).

In "Münchhausen" he satirized the interpolation of diaries (II, 16–25) and *ich*-episodes (II, 59–110). Of verse forms he lampooned the ghasel (XI, 289, 332; XVII, 471–472; II, 66) and the makamen (X, 69–71). But it was the employment of many verse forms,[64] resulting in a "chaotisches Felsgeklüft massloser Metren" XI, 316) to which he could not give his approval and up to which his genius did not reach.[65]

[64] Cf. II, 66; M. has just composed a sixteen verse makamen. He says: "Damit war meine Begeisterung noch nicht erschöpft. Formen und Verse, Weisen und Reime, Laiche, Stollen, Stanzen, Assonanzen, Dissonanzen, Decimen, Canzonen, Terzinen, Handwerksburschenlieder, Sprichwörtliches, Africanisches, Madecassisches, an Personen, Gelegenheit, Denk- und Sendblätter, Runenstabe, Gepanzertes und Geharnischtes, Blätter und Blüten, Schutt—Alles dieses und noch unendlich viel mehr entquoll meinem unermüdlich vom Wasser bewegten Lippen, so dass ich glaube ich habe an jenem Abende in wenigstens sechs Dutzenden der verschiedensten Arten und Weisen meine Kindlichkeit lyrisch ausgesprochen."

[65] Cf. A. letter o Abeken, discussing Calderon's *Der Richter von Zalamea,* published by Werner Deetjen in *Hannoverland,* Nov. 1909: Ich habe das Heft über die Metrik studiert, leider aber nicht überall verstanden, wie es mir denn überhaupt schwer wird, die metrischen Gesetze zu fassen und zu behalten, und ich, danach zu urteilen, nur geringen Ruf zum Dichter haben kann." The letter was written in August, 1823.

CONCLUSION

Immermann was possessed of an overweening desire and an overbalancing inability to be a great poet. He was not a genius. Real genius never so misinterprets its mission as did he. He either did not know where his real strength lay, or he saw virtue in following the most difficult course. He tried twenty times to produce an actable, applausable drama, without once succeeding to any marked degree. He wrote about three hundred poems and only about two out of each hundred have a genuine lyric ring. He wrote two short stories that are rather readable. He wrote three novels that grade from good to better and on to best. And he did some first-rate criticism. With all his interest in history, he never tried a historical novel. Judging from the value of his culture novels, there is reason to believe that he could have shone in this field. And judging from the value of his criticism, there is reason to believe that he could have become illustrious in this field. But he preferred to seek his fortune elsewhere. He tried too many kinds of literature, read too much and lived too little ever to become markedly successful as a poet. His works have been more popular with critics than with readers. Yet he was sincere. As a poet, he was gifted, from the standpoint of creative fancy and imaginative finesse, about as was Lessing. And like Lessing's young Templar, he is worthy of respectful consideration because of the latent, undeveloped good there was in him.

The years of his poetic activity extend over a rather unhappy period in the history of German literature. Schiller is no longer living, Goethe is largely concerned with retouching old ideas, Kleist, unable to endure the political humiliation of the epoch, has taken his own life and his works are not being recognized, Grillparzer is contemporaneous, Hebbel and Ludwig are young, romanticism is in its dotage, and Iffland, Kotzebue and Raupach have usurped and monopolized the stage. This is the condition that confronted Immermann,

when, with more poetic will than genius, he set out eager to win the applause of the stage. And yet, with a romantic superciliousness, he turned away from Schiller and to Goethe and became an adopted citizen of that tried though transient republic of letters, the "Romantic School."

His life falls into six periods. Born at Magdeburg, of Protestant, Prussian bureaucracy, the first seventeen years (1796–1813) were spent in intensely rationalistic surroundings. The next four at Halle (1813–1817) were spent in equally romantic surroundings. The following two years (1817–1819) at Madgeburg were of an uneventful nature, except that he here experienced the "wonder of wonders, first love" (XI, 5). There are a few poems that reveal the incipient romanticist, such as "Sehnsucht" (XI, 58). From 1819 to 1824, he is in Münster, an old Catholic, medieval town, with all sorts of reminiscences that were calculated to make a poet of Immermann's temperament study its past life rather than live its present. It was here, in his most formative period that he met (1821) that romantic woman, Countess Lützow, who for eighteen years was to deter the natural development of his life and mould the sentiment of some of his best known works. It was a romantic period and his works show it. The next three years (1824–1827) were spent at Magdeburg. Here it was that he poetized his relation to the Duchess in "Cardenio" (1825) and for the first time entered the realistic field in "Das Trauerspiel in Tirol" (1826). In March, 1827, he went to Düsseldorf, and spent the last thirteen years of his life as the poet among a group of romantic artists. His epoch influenced him vastly more than he influenced it.

His relation to German romanticism was, then, intimate but imitative and sometimes spurious, incoherent but lifelong.

The intimacy of his relation to romanticism is revealed in his unconscious acts and utterances. He wants to improve his English, so he translates "Ivanhoe" (V, 140). He thinks of writing a brochure on French literature and the period to be treated is that beginning with Hugo (Beers Briefwechsel, October 28, 1830). He modernized Hebel's Alemannic poems (XI, 34–39), which Jean Paul characterized as "köstlich-

romantisch" (Vol. 17, p. 92). He is going to read "Prinz von Homburg" to the Countess, and if he can not secure a copy of this he will read Oehlenschlägers "Freias Altar" (L. Assing, p. 204). He manages a classical theatre for three years and makes a speciality of the works of Goethe, Shakespeare, Calderon and Tieck (Fellner: "Ges. e. deut. Musterbühne"). In order to keep his mind employed while at Münster, he reads Jacobi "Von den göttlichen Dingen" and Solger's "Aesthetik" (P. I, 49–121). An Englishman is introduced in "Der Carneval," and he is reading aloud the most romantic stanzas from "Childe Harold" (VIII, 93). Mention is made of the fretfulness of the age, and he says this condition is best described in the three main works of Görres (XX, 116). Three poets appear to him in a vision as he begins work on "Merlin," and these are Dante, Wolfram v. Eschenbach and Novalis (XV, 57–58). Balsamine uses Tulifäntchen as a book-mark, and the book happens to be a volume of Jacob Böhme (XIII, 95). And so it is throughout all his works; romantic references are made unconsciously, often where others would have answered the purpose just as well.

The imitative, second-hand nature of his romanticism is seen in the way he treated its most conventional phases. He composed several Märchen, but they do not sound as genuinely romantic as do those of Tieck. His mysticism in "Merlin" is not so impressive as, for example, that of Zacharias Werner in "Die Söhne des Thals." He filled some of his characters with a demoniac impetuosity, but not so completely as did Kleist. This difference is due, of course, in part to the fact that he was not so poetically gifted as his romantic prototypes; in part also to the fact that it was not first-hand with him. Andreas Gryphius wrote (1657), for example, "Cardenio und Celinde." Arnim, wishing to revive the old drama, wrote (1811) "Halle und Jerusalem." Arnim took over, with only slight modification, Gryphius' main plot and underlying idea. Immermann, wishing to poetize his relation to Countess Lützow, wrote (1825) "Cardenio und Celinde." The influence of Arnim lies on the surface. But a comparison of the two dramas gives a clear picture of the difference between the

romanticism of an orthodox member of the school and one of its followers. Arnim romanticized an old Italian story; Immermann imitated a German romantic drama.

Closely allied to this is his habit of adding an original, sometimes pseudo-romantic touch to an otherwise romantic theme. In "Friedrich II" he wrote a Catholic tragedy. But the essential difference, to Immermann, between Protestantism and Catholicism was this: the former is preventive, the latter curative; the former preaches the necessity of abnegation, the latter the romanticism of absolution. Friedrich II lived by no means an abnegative life; and he died a romantic death, consoled by the Archbishop of Palermo. Immermann was somewhat like Schiller in "Maria Stuart." Mortimer talks much about the symbolic beauty of Catholicism, admits, however, that since a Catholic, he can renounce a life of renunciation and, a "Fröhlicher," join the "Fröhlichen." The orthodox Catholic romanticists impress one as being more serious and sincere.

The incoherency of his romanticism is seen in the way in which he arbitrarily shifted from one extreme to another. "Periander" (1822) is, in proportion, as much of a fate-tragedy as is Grillparzer's "Ahnfrau." In "Cardenio" (1825) the whole idea of fate is held up to honest ridicule (XVI, 385). Romanticism is nothing if not subjective. But "Ronceval" (1819) and "Edwin" (1820) are not predominantly so. "Papierfenster" (1822) is as subjective as Tieck's "Lovell." "Periander" (1822) is as little subjective as "Wallenstein." Subjectivism is scant in "Ghismonda" (1837) and abundant in "Tristan" (1840).

And Immermann's romanticism was lifelong. He became, to be sure, from year to year, less romantic; so did his age. But just as he wrote no pretentious work that is wholly romantic, so did he write none wholly unromantic. In three instances, "Die Verschollene" (1821–1834), "Das Trauerspiel in Tirol" (1826–1833), "Friedrich II" (1821–1828) he revised his works. In each case it was largely a question of eliminating the most romantic elements. But even realistic "Epigonen" has a "romantic-criminal background" (P. II, 139), and "Münchhausen" is "Eine Geschichte in Arabesken,"

a form for the novel, to which Fr. Schlegel gave his unreserved approbation (Minor, II, 369). And it is in "Münchhausen" that he ironically rises above his work and introduces the "bekannter Schriftsteller Immermann" as one of his characters (III, 135–161). His first and main biographer puts his "break with romanticism" as early as 1826, in "Das Trauerspiel in Tirol." The most popular year with general manuals of German literature is 1829, the year of the satiric epic "Tulifäntchen." He quarreled with romanticism from time to time, but he never completely broke with it. As an adopted citizen of the romantic republic, he was at times a loyalist, at times a malcontent and at times a rebel.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following is a partial list of the works used in preparing this study. It aims at expediency rather than completeness. Every general history of German literature, for example, says something in a vague way about Immermann as a romanticist. No one of these is included. To include all the romantic literature, in the narrower sense, that has been read in whole or in part, would vastly increase the size of the bibliography without correspondingly increasing its value. This is entirely excluded.

Editions

Karl Immermanns Schriften, Düsseldorf, 14 vols., 1835–1843.

Immermann's Werke, Berlin, Gustav Hempel, 20 parts in 8 vols., ed. by Robert Boxberger, no year.

Immermanns Werke, hrsg. von Max Koch, 4 vols., D. N. L., 1888.

Immermanns Ausgewählte Werke, hrsg. von Franz Muncker, 6 vols., Stuttgart, 1893.

Immermanns Werke, hrsg. von Harry Maync, 5 vols., critical edition, Leipzig, 1906.

Münchhausen, von Karl Immermann, hrsg. von Adolf Strodtmann, illustriert von Ernst Bosch, 2 vols., Berlin, 1883.

Biography

1842. O. L. B. Wolff: Mein Verhältniss zu Immermann, Stuttgart.

1842. Friedrich von Müller: Immermann in Weimar, Stuttgart.

1851. Ecrivains et Poètes de L'Allemagne par Henri Blaze, Paris.

1857. Ludmilla Assing: Gräfin Elisa von Ahlefeldt, eine Biographie, Berlin.

1861. Wolfgang Müller von Königswinter: K. Immermann und sein Kreis, Leipzig.

1862. D. Fr. Strauss: K. L. Immermann, Leipzig.
1863. Friedrich Kohlrausch: Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben, Hannover.
1870. Gustav zu Putlitz: Karl Immermann, sein Leben und seine Werke, aus Tagebüchern und Briefen an seine Familie zusammengestellt, 2 vols. Berlin.
1872. A. W. T. Stahr: Karl Leberecht Immermann, Berlin.
1878. Karl Rosenkranz: Von Magdeburg bis Königsberg, Leipzig.
1884. Heinrich von Sybel: Erinnerung an Fr. von Uechtritz und seine Zeit, Leipzig.
1886. Waldemar Kawerau: Aus Magdeburgs Vergangenheit, Halle.
1888. Richard Fellner: Geschichte einer deutschen Musterbühne, Karl Immermanns Leitung des Stadttheaters zu Düsseldorf, Stuttgart.
1897. Richard M. Meyer: Deutsche Charaktere, K. L. Immermann, 120–127, Berlin.
1901. Erich Schmidt: Zu Immermanns Säkularfeier, Berlin.
1905. Karl Goedeke: Karl Immermann, Grundriss, Bd. VIII, 592–605, Dresden.

LETTERS

1837. Michael Beers Briefwechsel, hrsg. von Eduard Schenk, Leipzig.
1842. Briefe Immermanns an Frieligrath, hrsg. von Freiligrath, Stuttgart.
1848. Briefe an Frhr. B. d. l. M.—Fouqué, hrsg. von Albertine Baronin d. l. M.—Fouqué, Berlin.
1851. Immermanns Theaterbriefe, hrsg. von Gustav zu Putlitz, Berlin.
1864. Briefe an Ludwig Tieck, hrsg. von Karl von Holtei, 4 vols., Breslau. Contains letters to, on and by Immermann.
1906. Heine-Briefe, hrsg. von Hans Daffis, Berlin, 1907.
1909. Aus Immermanns Jugendbriefen, hrsg. von Werner Deetjen, in "Hannoverland," October–December, 1909.

MONOGRAPHS

1842. C. B. L. Schücking: Ueber Immermanns Merlin, Stuttgart.

1843. Foreign Quarterly Review, Vol. XXXI, Immermann's New Münchhausen, 1–23.
1862. Ludwig Börne, Gesammelte Schriften, 12 vols. in 6, Hamburg. Vol. 4, 181–193, "Cardenio und Celinde," Vol. 4, 229–260, "Hofer."
1875. Franz Sintenis: Ueber Immermann's Münchhausen, Dorpat.
1877. G. R. Röpe: Unbewusste Zeugnisse für die christliche Wahrheit in Werken deutscher Dichter nachgewiesen. Merlin.
1878. Johann Molin: Ueber Immermanns Merlin, Krakow.
1882. Richard Wegener: Immermanns Merlin, Berlin.
1893. J. O. E. Donner: Der Einfluss Wilhelm Meisters auf den Roman der Romantiker, Helsingfors.
1896. Fr. Bauer: Sterne'scher Humor in Immermanns Münchhausen, Wien.
1896. R. M. Meyer: Die Ziegen auf dem Helikon, Leipzig.
1896. R. M. Meyer: Tulifäntchen, Hamburg.
1896. F. Schultess: Zeitgeschichte und Zeitgenossen in Immermanns Epigonen, Hamburg.
1896. J. Geffcken: Beitrage zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Münchhausen, Hamburg.
1897. W. Volkmann: Beiträge zur Erläuterung von Immermanns Münchhausen, Breslau.
1900. Heinrich Röttinger: Ueber die Quellen zu Immermanns Trauerspiel in Tirol, Leipzig.
1901. Werner Deetjen: Immermanns Kaiser Friedrich II, Berlin.
1903. August Leffson: Immermanns Alexis, Berlin.
1907. Franz Thewissen: Goethes Einfluss auf Immermanns Romane und Novellen, Marburg.
1907. Joseph Klövekorn: Immermanns Verhältnis zum deutschen Altertum, Münster.

General Treatises on Romanticism

1833. Heinrich Heine: Die romantische Schule, Hamburg.
1848. Julian Schmidt: Geschichte der Romantik in dem Zeitalter der Reformation und der Revolution, Leipzig.

1850. Hermann Hettner: Die romantische Schule in ihren Zusammenhange mit Goethe und Schiller, Braunschweig, 1850.
1870. Rudolf Haym: Die romantische Schule, Berlin.
1871. Georg Gottfried Gervinus: Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung, Leipzig.
1872. August Koberstein: Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur vom zweiten Viertel des 18ten Jahrhunderts bis zu Goethes Tod. Fünfte Auflage, Leipzig.
1873. Georg Brandes: Die romantische Schule in Deutschland, Berlin.
1893. William Lyon Phelps: The Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement, Boston.
1899. Ricarda Huch: Blütezeit der Romantik, Leipzig.
1899. Henry A. Beers: English Romanticism in the 18th Century, New York.
1901. Henry A. Beers: English Romanticism in the 19th Century, New York.
1902.—Ricarda Huch: Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik, Leipzig.
1905. Marie Joachimi: Die Weltanschauung der deutschen Romantik, Jena.
1906. Erwin Kircher: Philosophie der Romantik, Jena.
1908. O. F. Walzel: Deutsche Romantik, Leipzig.
1908. Pierre Lasserre: Le Romantisme Francais, Paris.
1909. Arthur Symons: The Romantic Movement in English Poetry, New York.
1910. Robert M. Wernaer: Romanticism and the Romantic School in Germany, New York.

Immermann and Romanticism: Sources

Aristofanes: J. H. Voss, Bd. I., "Die Wolken" (Tulifäntchen), Braunschweig, 1821.
Arnims Werke, hrsg. von Monty Jacobs, Bd. III, "Halle und Jerusalem" (Car. u. Cel.), Berlin, no year.
The Confessions of St. Augustine; A Library of the Church Fathers, trans. by E. B. Pusey (Papierfenster eines Eremiten), Oxford, 1838.

L. A. Frankl: Andreas Hofer im Liede (Andreas Hofer), Innsbruck, 1884.
Ulrich Füeterers Prosaroman von Lanzelot, hrsg. von A. Peter (Merlin), Tübingen, 1885.
J. D. Gries: Schauspiele von Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca (Merlin), Berlin, 1818.
J. Görres: Lohengrin, Ein Altteutsches Gedicht (Merlin), Heidelberg, 1813.
Deutsche Sagen, hrsg. von den Brüdern Grimm, besorgt von H. Grimm (Tristan), Berlin, 1891.
Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer von Jacob Grimm (Tristan), 4. Ausgabe, besorgt durch Andreas Heusler und Rudolf Hübner, Leipzig, 1899.
Die deutsche Heldensage von Wilhelm Grimm (The blue flower), Göttingen, 1829.
Tristan und Isolde von Wolfgang Golther (Tristan), Leipzig, 1907.
J. Görres: Die christliche Mystik, Regensburg, 1836.
Andreas Gryphius, D. N. L. 29, Cardenio und Celinde (Car. u. Cel.), hrsg. von H. Palm, no year.
Gesammtabenteuer, hrsg. von F. H. v. d. Hagen, Stuttgart, 1850 (Virgilius).
Altdeutsche Gedichte aus den Zeiten der Tafelrunde (Merlin), von Felix Franz Hofstätter, Wien, 1811.
Tirols Erhebung im Jahre 1809, Joseph Hirn, 1909.
Des Herodotas Geschichte, Deutsch von Adolf Schöll (Periander), Stuttgart, 1855.
Francesco Petrarca, dargestellt von K. L. Fernow (Petrarca), Lepizig, 1818.
Briefe eines Verstorbenen von Hermann Heinrich Ludwig, Fürst von Pückler-Muskau (Münchhausen), Stuttgart, 1837.
J. F. W. Pustkuchen: Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre, u. s. w. (Brief an einen Freund), Quedlinburg, 1821–1824.
Wilhelm Hertz: Das Rolandslied, das älteste französische Epos, Stuttgart, 1861 (Das Thal von Ronceval).
Karl Rosengranz: Geschichte der deutschen Poesie im Mittelalter, Halle, 1830 (Merlin).

Geschichte der Hohenstaufen von Fr. von Raumer (Kaiser Friedrich II), zweite Auflage, Leipzig, 1841.

Joseph Ritson: Pieces of Ancient Popular Poetry (Edwin), London, 1833.

Der jüngere Titurel, hrsg. von K. A. Hahn (Merlin), 1842, Bib. d. ges. deut. Nat. Lit.

Gottfrieds von Strassburg Tristan (Tristan), hrsg. von Reinhold Bechstein, Leipzig, 1873.

Fr. Schlegel: Sämmtliche Werke, Bd. 9, Roland, ein Heldengedicht in Romanzen, (Das Thal von Ronceval), Wien, 1846, Bd. 15 (Merlin), 1846.

De la Littérature du Midi de L'Europe, par J. C. L. de Sismondi (Petrarca), tome premier, Paris, 1813.

Johannis Schilteri Thesaurus Antiquitatum Teutonicorum. Rhythmus de Caroli Expedit. Hispan. (Thal von Ronceval), Ulmae MDCCXXVII.

Karl der Grosse von dem Stricker, hrsg. von Karl Bartsch (Thal v. R.), 35. Bd. Bibl. der ges. deut. Nat.-Lit., Leipzig, 1857.

Solgers nachgelassene Schriften und Briefwechsel hrsg. von Ludwig Tieck und Fr. von Raumer (Papierfenster), Leipzig, 1826.

Die Arthur-Sage, hrsg. von San Marte (Albert Schulz), Bib. der ges. deut. Nat.-Lit. (Merlin), Leipzig, 1842.

Dschinnistan, oder auserlesene Feen- und Geister-Mährchen, C. M. Wieland (Tulifäntchen), Winterthur, 1786.

Ulrich von Zazichoven (Merlin), bearbeitet von Paul Piper, D. N. L. 2, Bd. 4, Stuttgart.

Immermann and Romanticism: Content

Andreas Aubert: Runge und die Romantik, Berlin, 1909.

Oscar Ewald: Die Probleme der Romantik, Berlin, 1904.

Ludwig Friedländer: Das Gefühl für das Romantische in der Natur, Leipzig, 1873.

Hermann Gschwind: Die ethischen Neuerungen in der Früh-Romantik, Bern, 1903.

Johann Jörgensen: Geschichte der dänischen Literatur, München, 1908.

Kaiser: Immermanns Gedanken über Erziehung und Bildung, Halle, 1906.

Brander Matthews: Romance against Romanticism, New York, 1901.

Anton Mesmer: Entdecker des thierischen Magnetismus, von Justinus Kerner, Frankfurt a/M, 1856.

Jacob Minor: Wahrheit und Lüge auf dem Theater und in der Literatur, Leipzig, 1896.

Ludwig Noack: Schelling und die Philosophie der Romantik, Berlin, 1859.

Felix Poppenberg: Mystik und Romantik in den "Söhnen des Thals," Berlin, 1893.

Jean Paul: Die Vorschule der Aesthetik, Berlin, 1861.

Walter Pater: The Renaissance, London, 1890.

Chr. D. Pflaum: Die Poetik der deutschen Romantiker, Berlin, 1909.

Wilhelm Pfeiffer: Fouqués "Undine," Heidelberg, 1903.

Heinrich Prodnigg: Wilhelm Meister und die ästhetische Doctrin der älteren Romantik, no year.

Josiah Royce: The Spirit of Modern Philosophy, Boston, 1892.

Hans Röhl: Die ältere Romantik und die Kunst des jungen Goethe, Berlin, 1909.

Fr. Schlegel: Jugendschriften, hrsg. von Jacob Minor, Vol. 1, Wien, 1906.

Fr. G. Schultheiss: Der Einfluss der Romantik auf die Vertiefung des Nationalgefühls, Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, Vol. 5, 55–82.

Henrich Steffens: Was ich erlebte, Vols. 2–8, Breslau, 1840–1844.

J. H. Schlegel: Ueber den Begriff des Romantischen, Wertheim, 1878.

Hermann Todsen: Ueber die Entwickelung des rom. Kunstmärchens, Berlin, 1906.

K. G. Wendriner: Das rom. Drama, Berlin, 1909.

J. J. Wagner: Ueber Religion, Wissenschaft, Kunst und Staat in ihren gegenseitigen Verhältnissen betrachtet, Erlangen, 1819.

Immermann and Romanticism: Form

Anton Heinrich: Joseph von Görres; Seine Sprache und sein Stil, Coblenz, 1907.

Emil Hügli: Die romanischen Strophen in den Dichtungen deutscher Romantiker, Zürich, 1900.

Paul Hamelius: The Theory of Romantic Comedy, Brussels, no year.

Wilhelm Kaiser: Untersuchungen über Immermanns Romantechnik, Halle, 1906.

Tony Kellen: Theories des Romans, Essen-Ruhr, 1904.

Friedrich Kauffmann: Deutsche Metrik nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwickelung, Marburg, 1907.

Hellmuth Mielke: Der deutsche Roman des 19ten Jahrhunderts, Berlin, 1898.

Jacob Minor: Neuhochdeutsche Metrik, Strassburg, 1902.

Hermann Petrich: Drei Kapitel vom romantischen Stil, Leipzig, 1878.

Robert Riemann: Goethes Romantechnik, Leipzig, 1902.

Friedrich Spielhagen: Beiträge zur Theorie und Technik des Romans, Leipzig, 1883.

Martin Schütze: Studies in German Romanticism, Chicago, 1907.

Heinrich Welti: Geschichte des Sonetts, Leipzig, 1884.

The Unromantic

Ludwig Anzengruber: Der Naturalismus, gesammelte Werke, Stuttgart, 1897.

Leo Berg: Zwischen zwei Jahrhunderten, Frankfurt, 1896.

Carl Bleibtreu: Revolution in der Literatur, Leipzig, 1887.

F. Marion Crawford: The Novel: What it is, London, 1896.

John Grier Hibben: The Philosophy of the Enlightenment, New York, 1910.

Eberhard Kraus: Romantik und Naturalismus: Literarische Kreuz- und Quersprünge, Mitau, 1891.

Garlieb Merkel: Deutschland zur Goethe-Schiller-Zeit, von Julius Eckardt, Berlin, 1887.

Adolf Stern: Deutsche Nationalliteratur vom Tode Goethes bis zur Gegenwart, Marburg, 1886.

Anton E. Schönbach: Der Realismus, Graz, 1905.
Heinrich von Treitschke: Deutsche Geschichte im 19ten Jahrhundert, vols. 3 and 4, Leipzig, 1889.

Miscellaneous References; Arranged in Order of Importance for this Study

1. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von der romantischen Schule bis zu Heine, Prof. Erich Schmidt, Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität zu Berlin, Sommer-Semester, vom 16. April bis 15. August, 1904. My notes on the lectures delivered from May 5 to August 2, 1904.
2. Immermanns Memorabilien, 1836–1840, Bd. VIII, Parts 18, 19, 20.
3. Immermanns Reisejournal, 1831–1833, Bd. III, Part 10.
4. Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung von Karl Goedeke, Bd. VIII, Immermann, pp. 592–621. Biographical introduction and bibliography. Bd. VI, Phantastische Dichtung. Dresden, 1905.
5. Immermanns Jugenddramen von Werner Deetjen, Leipzig, 1904.
6. Ludwig Tiecks Genoveva als romantische Dichtung betrachtet, von Johann Ranftl. Graz, 1899.
7. Catalogue of Immermann's library of 1,142 volumes, secured from the Goethe-Schiller Archives at Weimar.
8. Heinrich Heine und die deutsche Romantik, von Otto zur Linde, Freiburg, 1899.
9. Erläuterungen zu Immermanns Oberhof von Ferdinand Hoffmann, Erl. z. d. K., 144–145.
10. Geschichte der poetischen Lit. Deutschlands von J. von Eichendorff, 2 vols., Paderborn, 1861.
11. Kleist und die Romantik von Ernst Kayka, Berlin, 1906.
12. Academische Monatshefte, 213–226 January 1, 1902, to February 1, 1903. Immermann's conflict with the Teutonia at Halle, by F. M. Schiele.
13. Brief an einen Freund über die falschen Wanderjahre von Immermann, Münster, 1823. His theory of composition.
14. Die romantische Schule in Deutschland und Frankreich von Stephan Born, Heidelburg, 1879.

15. Zeitschriften der Romantik, Walzel and Houben, Berlin, 1904.
16. Justinus Kerner als Romantiker, von Franz Heinzmann, Tübingen, 1908.
17. Eichendorff: Erlebtes, D. N. L., Vol. 146.
18. Platens romantische Comödien, Carl Heinze, Marburg, 1897.
19. Novalis. Eine biographische Charakteristik, von Just Bing, Leipzig, 1893.
20. Bettina von Arnim: Goethes Briefwechsel mit einem Kinde, hrsg. von Jonas Kränkel, Jena, 1906.
21. Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, von Adolf Bartels, zweite Auflage, Leipzig, 1909.

CHRONOLOGICALLY CLASSIFIED LIST OF IMMERMANN'S WRITINGS

Predominantly Romantic

1819. Das Thal von Ronceval—Tragedy.
1820. Edwin—Tragedy.
1821. Petrarca—Tragedy.
Die Prinzen von Syrakus—Romantic Comedy.
Die Verschollene—Mystic Prose Drama in one Act.
1822. Die Papierfenster eines Eremiten—Mystic Novel.
König Periander und sein Haus—Gruesome Fate-Tragedy.
1823. Das Auge der Liebe—Romantic Comedy, after Shakespeare.
Der neue Pygmalion—Romantic Short Story with Realistic Touches.
1825. Cardenio und Celinde—Tragedy of Love and Brutality.
1827. Die Verkleidungen—Romantic Comedy.
1828. Kaiser Friedrich II—Catholic Tragedy.
1829. Der Carneval und die Somnambule—Romantic Short Story of Somnambulism.
Tulifäntchen—Satirical Epic.
1832. Merlin—Mystic Dramatic Poem.
1834. Die Verschollene—Mystic Prose Drama in one Act, revised.
1837. Ghismonda—Tragedy of Romantic Love.

1840. Tristan und Isolde—Romantic Epic (Fragment).

Predominantly Unromantic

1817. Ein Morgenscherz—Rationalistic Comedy in Alexandrines.
1818. Die Nachbarn—Dramatic Idyl in one Act, Rationalistic with Romantic Touches.
1822. Poems (93)—Rationalistic and Realistic.
1825. Die schelmische Gräfin—Rationalistic Comedy in Alexandrines.
1826. Das Trauerspiel in Tirol—Realistic with Romantic Touches.
1828. Die Schule der Frommen—Rationalistic Comedy in Alexandrines.
1830. Poems (70) Realistic and Rationalistic.
1831. Alexis—Tragedy; a Trilogy, Realistic.
1833. Poems—Realistic with Romantic Touches.
Andreas Hofer—Realistic Tragedy, revised, fewer Romantic Touches.
1835. Epigonen—Culture Novel, Realistic with Romantic Touches.
1840. Münchhausen—Culture Novel, Realistic with Romantic Touches.

Miscellaneous

1822. Pater Brey—Shrovetide Play in Defense of Wilhelm Meister.
1823. Brief an einen Freund über die falschen Wanderjahre, Wilhelm Meister.
1824. Scott's Ivanhoe—Translation.
Ueber den rasenden Ajax des Sophocles—Criticism.
1829. Der im Irrgarten der Metrik umhertaumelnde Cavalier —Attack on Platen.
1831. Reisejounal—Travels and Diary.
1832. Ahr und Lahn—Travels.
Epilog zu Goethes Todtenfeier.
1833. Blick ins Tirol—Travels.
Albrecht Dürers Traum—Dürer and Art.
1834. Kurfürst Johann Wilhelm im Theater—Occasional.

1836. Grabbe—Criticism.
1837. Fränkische Reise—Travels and Diary.
Tagebuch.
1838. Das Fest der Freiwilligen zu Köln am Rhein—Occasioal.
1839. Ost und West—Occasional.
1839. Jugend vor fünfundzwanzig Jahren—Romantic Reminiscences.
1840. Adolf Schrödters Bild von der Flasche—Occasional.
1840. Düsseldorfer Anfänge—Criticisms.

Columbia University Germanic Studies

Edited by WILLIAM H. CARPENTER and CALVIN THOMAS

SCANDINAVIAN INFLUENCE ON SOUTHERN LOWLAND SCOTCH. A Contribution to the Study of the Linguistic Relations of English and Scandinavian. By GEORGE TOBIAS FLOM, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. xv+82. Price, $1.00 net.

OSSIAN IN GERMANY. Bibliography. General Survey. Ossian's Influence on Klopstock and the Bards. By RUDOLF TOMBO, JR., Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. iv+157. Price, $1.00 net.

THE INFLUENCE OF OLD NORSE LITERATURE UPON ENGLISH LITERATURE. By CONRAD HJALMAR NORDBY. 8vo, paper, pp. xi+78. Price, $1.00 net.

THE INFLUENCE OF INDIA AND PERSIA ON THE POETRY OF GERMANY. By ARTHUR F. J. REMY, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. xi+81. Price, $1.00 net.

LAURENCE STERNE IN GERMANY. A Contribution to the Study of the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Eighteenth Century. By HARVEY WATERMAN THAYER, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. v+198. Price, $1.00 net.

TYPES OF WELTSCHMERZ IN GERMAN POETRY. By WILHELM ALFRED BRAUN, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. v+91. Price, $1.00 net.

EDWARD YOUNG IN GERMANY. Historical Surveys. Influence upon German Literature. Bibliography. By JOHN LOUIS KIND, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. xiv+180. Price, $1.00 net.

HEBBEL'S NIBELUNGEN. Its Sources, Method, and Style. By ANNINA PERIAM, PH.D. 8vo, paper, pp. xiv+219. Price, $1.00 net.

THE NATURE SENSE IN THE WRITINGS OF LUDWIG TIECK. By GEORGE HENRY DANTON, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. v+98. Price, $1.00 net.

BAYARD TAYLOR'S TRANSLATION OF GOETHE'S FAUST. By JULIANA HASKELL, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. xi+110. Price, $1.00 net.

THE RECEPTION OF GOETHE'S FAUST IN ENGLAND IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By WILLIAM FREDERIC HAUHART, Ph.D. 8vo, paper, pp. x+148. Price, $1.00 net.

GRILLPARZER AS A POET OF NATURE. By FAUST C. DE WALSH, PH.D. 8vo, paper, pp. xvii+95. Price, $1.00 net.

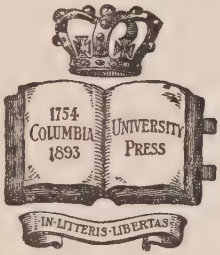
KARL LEBRECHT IMMERMANN. A Study in German Romanticism. By ALLEN W. PORTERFIELD, PH.D. 8vo, paper. Price, $1 net.

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Lemcke & Buechner, Agents, 30 West 27th Street, New York.

THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Columbia University in the City of New York



The Press was incorporated June 8, 1893, to promote the publication of the results of original research. It is a private corporation, related directly to Columbia University by the provisions that its Trustees shall be officers of the University and that the President of Columbia University shall be President of the Press.

The publications of the Columbia University Press include works on Biography, History, Economics, Education, Philosophy, Linguistics, and Literature, and the following series :

Columbia University Biological Series.
Columbia University Studies in Classical Philology.
Columbia University Studies in Comparative Literature.
Columbia University Studies in English.
Columbia University Geological Series.
Columbia University Germanic Studies.
Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series.
Columbia University Contributions to Oriental History and Philology.
Columbia University Oriental Studies.
Columbia University Studies in Romance Philology and Literature.
Blumenthal Lectures.
Carpentier Lectures.
Hewitt Lectures.
Jesup Lectures.

Catalogues will be sent free on application.

LEMCKE & BUECHNER, Agents

30-32 WEST 27th ST., NEW YORK

2652630290
BOOK NUMBER
PT2365.I528
CHT IMMERMANN
BRIEF DUE

DO NOT REMOVE THIS
CARD FROM THE BOOK POCKET.

A FINE OF 10 CENTS WILL BE
CHARGED FOR LOSS OF THIS CARD.

LIBRARY

Boston Public Library

Copley Square

GENERAL LIBRARY

PT2365
.I5Z8

2652630290

The Date Due Card in the pocket indicates the date on or before which this book should be returned to the Library. Please do not remove cards from this pocket.

WITHDRAWN
No longer the property of the
Boston Public Library.
Sale of this material benefits the Library